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# Training Needs of Village-Level Leaders for Participatory Rural Development: Focus on Sri Lanka

D. Stanley D. Gajanayake

# TRAINING NEEDS OF VILLAGE-LEVEL LEADERS

# FOR

# PARTICIPATORY RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

# FOCUS ON SRI LANKA

A Dissertation Presented

By

D.Stanley D. Gajanayake

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
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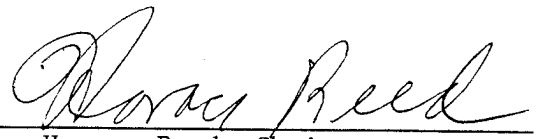

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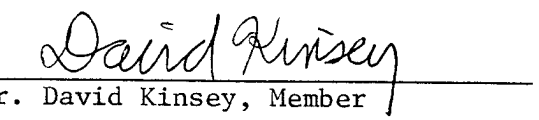

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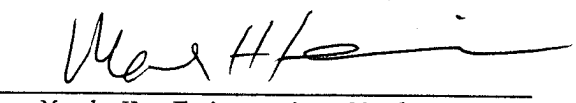

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ABSTRACT

Training Needs of Village-Level Leaders

for

Participatory Rural Development:

Focus on Sri Lanka

September 1986

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People's participation at the grassroots level in development is a major concern of policy-makers, development planners, research workers and practitioners in the field of rural development. The ability and the willingness of the rural people to involve themselves actively in the development process depends on their level of motivation. The village-level leaders can play a central role in the process of motivating and igniting the enthusiasm of the people at the village-level. Strengthening the capabilities of the village-level workers in this respect is one of the crucial challenges faced by practitioners in the field of rural development.

The primary purpose of this study is to identify, prioritize and operationalize the training needs of the village-level workers in performing their role effectively as facilitators in involving rural masses in the development process.

The design of the study combines a critical survey of literature, a case study, a needs assessment and an operationalizing process of prioritized needs. The survey of literature incorporates a critical appraisal of concepts of rural development and of people's participation. It also highlights the crucial role of village-level leaders in eliciting people's participation, drawing upon examples from selected development models. The case study inquires into the role of village-level leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, a unique example of a participatory rural development effort in the developing world and also evaluates the nature of its training efforts. The needs assessment explores the training needs of the village-level leaders of the Movement. The prioritization process highlights the major training needs, and the operationalization process breaks down prioritized needs into more clear dimensions. At the conclusion of the study these major dimensions emerging from the prioritized training needs have been analysed and synthesized to present a general framework for the formulation of training programs for village-level leaders. While the study is focused specifically on the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka, the broad framework may be relevant to training programs for other developing countries.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The endeavor to search for rational ways of dealing with problems in the Third World countries is one of the major concerns among the practitioners in rural development. The present study is a step in this direction and is concerned with one of the many issues pertinent to this endeavor. The study may serve a variety of purposes, but its prime function is to delineate the training needs of village-level leaders who serve as the initiators of the development process in rural areas. Though the study has particular relevance to the specific case chosen, i.e., the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, it also serves the rural development policy makers, planners and program developers throughout the Third World, in diagnosing the scientific ways of organizing training programs necessary for successful participatory rural development processes.

### Statement of the Problem

During the past decade rural development has become the principal concern of the national governments of the Third World countries. Joining in this effort to upgrade the quality of life of the rural poor are international policy makers, planners and development workers. Research and development institutes have been established both in developed and developing countries whose findings, recommendations and

and new areas of investigation are being discussed in periodic international conferences and symposia. These activities serve as evidence of the high priority given to rural development in recent years. The quest for the amelioration of misery and privation of the rural poor is justified by the fact that more than 80% of the population in the Third World countries is located in these poverty-stricken hinterlands.

Rural development strategies prior to the 1970s were based on two basic assumptions: (1) that rural areas in the Third World countries are poor because of the "lack," "lag" and the "gap" in resources, technology, appropriate organizational structures, etc. vis-à-vis the developed countries; (2) the people themselves living in the rural areas are to be blamed for their poverty because their attitudes, values and perceptions are not development oriented. Experience during the 1960s and 1970s demonstrate (Coombs, 1980) that these assumptions have serious defects. It also suggests that causes for underdevelopment and poverty are very complex involving structural/systemic, political, social, and economic, in addition to factors related to oppression and powerlessness.

New evidence (Coombs, 1980) suggests that the "top-down," "sector-by-sector" approach to rural development is no answer to complex rural problems and calls for an "integrated," "comprehensive," "multisectoral" "development effort aimed at meeting the 'basic needs' of the rural poor" (Coombs, 1980, p. 1). It aims at drawing the poorest sections of the rural society into the mainstream of development and enlisting their full participation in the development process. As

opposed to the sectoral approach to rural development that was prevalent earlier, the integrated rural development approach treats rural problems holistically. This approach focuses on the "rural family as the basic social unit and community as its basic habitat" (Coombs, 1980, p. 2). Evidence from the studies on rural development shows that the "poverty syndrome is not an individual affair" (Coombs, 1980, p. 13) but permeates the entire family and the whole community. The new concern in rural development calls for the fullest participation of all the sections of the rural community throughout the whole process of development.

The concept of popular participation in rural development, which is considered today as one of the most important ingredients of development, is not totally new. Basically, developing countries today are more convinced that their greatest resource in the development process is the people themselves, and that successful efforts to improve the quality of life of the people depend on their genuine involvement in the process. As a result, the participation of the people in this transformation process is receiving increasing attention today.

To be effective, such efforts require a planned process of tapping human resources through careful mobilization and organization. This entails an efficient process of conscientization whereby participants could explore the nature of their situations as they perceive it and identify and devise solutions to their problems. These efforts to involve rural populations in identifying their prob-

lems and devising solutions is a very complex and difficult task. The difficulties in awareness raising, skill building and achieving the educational enlightenment of the apathetic elites and the "illiterate" rural masses, plus the other complexities in organizing and managing the development process, are varied and numerous. To place greater responsibility for the development on the shoulders of the people themselves, necessitates many processes, one of the most important being the preparation of the village-level leaders to initiate and activate this popular participation in development. Specifically, the village-level leaders need to help the villagers articulate their incoherent concepts of development, identify the roots of their developmental strategies and be motivated to effect change through self-help. Research is needed in order to evolve effective methods in preparing these local village leaders for eliciting/managing participation.

Village-level leaders can be effectively used as "catalysts" in expediting the process of rural transformation. Since they are "insiders" for their communities, the chance of their being accepted by the rural people as the transformers of their lives is higher. Their influence is more penetrating and more lasting. However, they will not be able to perform their roles satisfactorily, unless they are accepted as mediators who have the best interest of the people at heart. In other words, the ability and the willingness of the rural people to actively involve themselves in the development process depends on the proper guidance, encouragement and motivation they re-

ceive from their village-level leaders. The village-level leaders should be motivators or stimulators, who take the initiative to elicit this involvement. In order to get the people involved, village-level leaders should be able to create the positive climate needed for the necessary transformation. They should be able to prepare the rural people for the process of change. Therefore, strengthening the capabilities of these workers in this respect is one of the most important challenges faced by the development planners today. Practical suggestions for preparing these village-level leaders in ways that will enhance their skills in the art of facilitating are of utmost importance and urgency today. More specifically, efforts are necessary in order to explore the nature of the special needs in training the village-level leaders to act as effective change agents in the rural transformation and to deal with the complex and variable processes of participation in development.

## Purpose of the Study

One of the challenges that rural development planners face today is to develop processes which utilize the potentials of the villagers as self-reliant groups who are capable of fully participating in the development process. Preparation of village-level leaders who can act as initiators in the complex process of involving the rural masses in participation and who can mobilize and motivate the rural people for the process of change, is a high priority in rural development efforts today.

The main purpose of this study is to explore the nature of the training needs of the village-level leaders in performing their role effectively, as the initiators of change and as elicitors of people's participation in the change process, as well as suggesting guidelines for designing training programs for them which will best prepare them for this role. This study has attempted to address this issue, taking the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka as the focus. Sarvodaya is one of the unique movements in the Third World which has been successful in involving rural people from nearly 3000 villages in the development process. The Movement considers village-level leaders attached to its 3000 villages to be an important link in initiating the people's participation. The strengthening of the capabilities of these workers, however, has become one of the important challenges that the Movement has not yet been able to face successfully. In addressing this issue, the study examines the following primary question:

What are the priorities/dimensions that should be considered in formulating training programs for village-level leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka for participatory rural development?

The implementing questions which the researcher intends to deal with in addressing this primary question are:

1. What is the nature (theoretical implications and changing paradigms) of rural development in the Third World?

2. What are the rationale, dimensions and context of people's participation in rural development?

3. What are the major orientations and the philosophy of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (in Sri Lanka) and how does it operate as a participatory rural development process?

4. What is the role of village-level leaders and what are the issues related to them in the context of participatory rural development (as revealed in the literature)?

5. What insights can be gathered from the Sarvodaya experience with regards to the role of and issues pertaining to village-level leadership and what is the nature of the current efforts made by the Sarvodaya Movement to prepare them for their role?

6. What are the important dimensions/factors in formulating training programs for village-level leaders when the training needs are prioritized and operationalized?

7. What are some of the implications for future research?

## Significance of the Study

The role of a village-level leader in stimulating participation in the complex process of rural development is very challenging and demanding. Needless to say, a cadre of trained village-level leaders who can reach the rural poor with a variety of effective tools and techniques would be an important impetus to rural development efforts in an appreciable degree. In view of this need, the current study can be considered to be an important step in the right direction. The research, while dealing with many facets of rural development, focuses mainly on identifying the training needs of village-level leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka for participatory rural development and operationalizing the prioritized needs as a necessary framework for program development.

The findings and conclusions of this study will be potentially useful in several ways. They will shed new light on the village-level leadership training component for participatory rural development in Sri Lanka in particular and in the Third World countries in general. They may also serve as a basis for initiating a dialogue among the practitioners in rural development and for guiding follow-up programs for such training efforts. Although some of the general findings which are relevant to the specific case upon which the research is focused, i.e., the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, may not be relevant to many other settings in the Third World, the philosophic base, rationale, methodology and instruments used will be useful in guiding studies in any other settings.

This study does not offer ready-made tools which will equip the facilitators to deal with the complexities of the rural development process. More specifically, this research is not intended to offer any model of preparing village-level leaders to perform their roles. However, it does offer some valuable insights and will serve to provoke discussion among experienced practitioners and planners in participatory rural development which may shed fresh light on this relatively unexplored area and which will hopefully be useful to other future investigations. More importantly, this study will help the practitioners in their own particular settings--firstly, to think more clearly, rationally and realistically about pre-conditions of participatory rural development; secondly, to consider the potentials and limitations of on-going efforts to involve the people in the

process; and thirdly, to view the whole process more systematically and in a wider context. This research presents a variety of suggestions for more immediate action which will hopefully be of high importance to those who carry out such responsibilities. Moreover, this research will serve as a stepping stone for much needed future research.

## Organization of the Literature Review

The purpose of the review of literature in this study is to present a conceptual framework by which to examine the theoretical base of the major themes that run through the study--namely, rural development, people's participation in rural development, the role and issues of village-level leaders and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement itself. To accomplish this goal, the review of literature has been done in four major phases. In the first phase, the study reviews the different theories in rural development, their practical implications during the last few decades, and the current concepts on various aspects of rural development. The second phase is focused on the literature related to the concepts, significance and dimensions of people's participation in rural development. The above theoretical foundation acquaints the reader with the important concepts that are essential to the understanding of the nature of rural development efforts and people's participation in rural development.

The third phase of literature review inquires into the unique effort found in Sri Lanka--the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement--in

eliciting the participation of rural masses in the development effort. The fourth is an investigation of the role and issues of village-level leadership in the light of experiences in the Third World countries.

## Design of the Study

The study is designed to achieve the ultimate objective of identifying the training needs of the village-level leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, who act as the initiators and the motivators in the transformation process in the Sri Lankan rural scene. In order to achieve this, the study has been designed in several sequential stages. First, a conceptual analysis of the major themes--rural development and people's participation--has been presented in the form of a theoretical framework. This seemed important as it provided the theoretical and analytical base essential for the study. This analysis is followed by an analytical study of the specific case chosen for the study: the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka as a participatory rural development process. This has been done through a systematic examination of the available documentation, published books, articles and research reports. In the next step, through an extensive survey of literature, evidence which shed light on the role of and issues concerning village-level leaders has been sorted out, organized and analysed. This has been supported by the evidence gleaned from selected cases from a few other countries by extracting important ideas and information from their experiences. In the following step an attempt has been made to examine critically

the role of village-level leaders in the Sarvodaya villages to present controversial issues related to village-level leadership as seen by Sarvodaya workers and to make an assessment of the efforts of the Sarvodaya to prepare them for their roles. This analysis is based on the information gathered from the administration of a questionnaire, from extensive individual and group interviews with knowledgeable persons connected with the Movement (conducted by the research assistant)[1] and also from the writer's personal experience. This analysis demonstrates that even though the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement has put a lot of effort into the training program, there are still many deficiencies and irrelevancies.

This phase of the study, though not the main empirical analysis, has supplied evidence which demonstrates the needs of the movement which leads to the next major phase of the study--the assessment of the training needs of the village-level leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, the prioritization of these training needs and their operationalization. This is the most important phase of the study, for it will provide the empirical evidence for obtaining the knowledge and the data base for providing operational guidance in designing the leadership training program of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. The concluding comments consider briefly to what degree the findings of this study can be generalized to fit the other situations in the Third World countries and what some of the implications for further research are.

Methodology of Field Investigation

The methods and techniques that have been used in the field investigation are of a qualitative/operational type, as these are better suited to the objectives of the study. The research is exploratory in nature. For that reason, the main concern has been to gather information on current needs for village-level leadership training and to discover some of its dimensions. Thus, it is not a matter of verifying pre-established hypotheses. The aim is to define from a general practical perspective some important aspects of the training needs of the village-level leaders which could form a basis for designing programs for them.

Field investigation has been carried out in two major phases in this study. As pointed out in the above discussion, the first phase is a general evaluation of the present leadership training program to determine the areas that need improvement. Though there is no predetermined hypothesis to be tested here, the general assumption is that the on-going efforts lack a systematic assessment of the training needs of the village-level leaders. In the pursuit of the present conditions of the training, the study has devised several instruments. One such instrument is the informal interview method which has been used to solicit opinions mainly on the issues related to the concept of village-level leadership. It has also gathered information on the organization of the Sarvodaya village-level leadership training program, its program emphasis and the areas that need improvements. In this case it would not be practical to seek input from every person

involved in the training. Therefore, a smaller number of clients were selected at random. The interviews were conducted in an informal manner, measuring the respondents' perceptions of the critical issues, ongoing training efforts and how such efforts relate to the needs in the field. The questions posed during the interview process were based on the themes gleaned from the earlier literature review and from the researcher's past experience with the Sarvodaya Movement.

In order to achieve the objectives of the research, another instrument--the semi-structured group interviews--has also been employed. This choice has served several purposes. The semi-structured interview with its open questions has encouraged spontaneity and at the same time circumscribed the topic more than the completely open interview, thus facilitating later analysis and comparability. The interview has been sufficiently flexible to allow rather free contact with the subjects interviewed and to collect new ideas. From the researcher's standpoint, the group interview has offered several advantages.

- to study the complex influences, processes and differences, especially when social interactions and group dynamics are involved.
- to involve a greater level of sincerity and honesty as the group provides a control element.
- to enable the use of lead questions followed by optional probes.
- to minimize the influence of the interviewer and establish group dynamics.

Since the research is exploratory in nature, no attempt has been made to include a statistically representative sample in administering

these techniques. The selected sample included coordinators of various programs of the Sarvodaya, village-level leaders, planners and knowledgeable persons attached to the Movement. They were interviewed by the research assistant and the interviews were recorded and transcribed in their entirety. Special care was taken in sorting out general comments which serve to explain, clarify and quantify expressed concerns.

The next most important phase of the field investigation is the assessment of training needs of the village-level leaders of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. Participants for the needs assessment were:

1. The Vice President of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.
2. A selected sample of trainers.
3. A selected sample of village-level leaders who were the graduates of the training program, now working in Sarvodaya villages.
4. A selected sample of coordinators who were in charge of various Sarvodaya projects.

In doing this needs assessment, the researcher followed the short version of the "Coffing-Hutchinson Needs Analysis Methodology." The research assistant explained the purpose of the needs assessment and the methodology to be applied, outlined the procedures to be used and also requested the personal participation and cooperation of the selected sample for the survey. After obtaining the responses from the definers and making the necessary tabulations, the research assistant took the top ten prioritized needs and operationally defined them using another methodology, namely, "Self-Instructional Module

for Learning the Hutchinson-Method of Operationalizing a Goal or Intent," prepared by Richard T. Coffing, Thomas E. Hutchinson, James B. Thomann and Richard G. Allan. The participants in the operationalization process were fifteen rural development research workers who were attached to the Sarvodaya Research Institute. The operationalization process was carried out in the form of "sit down" sessions, in which the participants could follow the oral instructions of the research assistant in responding to the ten prioritized items of the needs statement. The dimensions that resulted formed an operational framework for developing training programs for village-level leaders.

## Definitions of Terms

The terms used throughout the study have been defined below to facilitate the reader's understanding.

Rural development is a process designed to transform traditional societies with the aim of improving the quality of life of the people.

Participation is the active involvement of the people in a given area--local residents, leaders, and government personnel--in all processes of development--decision making, implementation, sharing of benefits, and in evaluation (Uphoff, 1979).

Leadership is "the process of influencing the activities of an individual or a group with the efforts placed towards goal achievement in a given situation" (Hersey and Blanchard, 1972, p. 68).

Village-level leader is an insider or a person from the community whose primary role is to activate, guide and encourage individuals or

social organizations, which should in turn lead to transformation of behaviour and attitudes.

## Delimitations

Although this study is intended to provide valuable guidelines in designing village-level leadership training programs, it has important and unavoidable limitations:

1. This study does not present a practical design for training which program planners in the field of rural development training can readily use.

2. The usefulness of this research emerges from the needs assessment carried out at the selected sites and with the selected clients. The fact that participants in other environments would differ from those selected could lead to modifications of the dimensions accordingly.

3. The research lacks universal replicability due to the particular cultural flavour of the setting in which it was conducted.

Given these limitations, the planners, policy makers and program designers wishing to train village-level leaders to facilitate the process of rural transformation could use this study as an important reference point.

## Assumptions

1. One of the important inhibiting factors in rural development in the Third World countries is the absence of a development oriented and capable village-level leadership.

2. What the village-level leaders do makes a substantial difference in the rural environments.

3. The problems/issues related to village-level leadership are complex and multi-faceted. These can be problems of

recruitment, motivation, turnover, training, etc., and may vary according to the onctext of each country. While appreciating the importance of all other problems associated with leadership, the writer assumes that training lends itself to intervention, and in interaction with other leadership problems, is a pivotal issue. Therefore, suggesting a framework for training can be a significant step towards accelerating the rural transformation.

4. A practical framework suggested to design village-level leadership training programs in a particular setting can be adopted with modifications to other settings with similar socio-economic envornments.

# C H A P T E R II

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT: ITS THEORETICAL CONTEXT

### Introduction

During the past decade, rural development has become the principal concern of national governments in Third World countries. Joining in this effort to upgrade the quality of life of the rural poor are international policy makers, planners and development workers. Research and development institutes have been established in both developed and developing countries whose findings, recommendations, and new areas of investigation are being discussed in periodic international conferences and symposia. These activities serve as evidence of the great importance given to rural development in recent years. The quest for the amelioration of the misery and privation of the rural poor is justified by the fact that more than 80% of the population in Third World countries are located in poverty-stricken rural hinterlands. A majority of the rural dwellers are considered to be living in "absolute poverty." It has been estimated in recent studies that the number of absolute poor was about 770 million in 1975. "Of this total, 630 million people live in developing countries, including 525 million in the rural areas" (Bukri, 1980, p. 37). Thus, according to these figures, the preponderance (83%) of the poor are confined to the rural areas. Much of this rural poverty is a direct result of the stagnation of the economies of these Third World countries, themselves

a product of the process of underdevelopment, a condition currently exacerbated by rising international trends and unequal trade relations.

## A Priority Task

Attacking poverty, disease and backwardness in rural areas in the Third World countries is a complex task of massive proportions. Nonetheless, there is a growing consensus that rural development should receive the highest priority, due to a number of factors. Robert Chambers (1974), has summarized these factors in four major points:

> First, and most obviously, the majority, and usually the overwhelming majority, of the people live and find their livelihood in the rural areas.
>
> Second, the drift to the town is a matter of concern. The high cost of urban housing and services, the health hazards of shanty towns, the security and political aspects of a large body of urban unemployed, and sometimes the adverse economic effects of rural depopulation--these are all reasons put forward for wishing to restrain urban growth; and one way of achieving this is seen to be the promotion of additional income and employment opportunities in rural areas.
>
> Third, it is in the rural areas that most of the poorer and most disadvantaged people are to be found. . . . They are precisely the people who are least in contact with the modern world, least influential politically, least likely to possess adequate land and capital for a decent life, least able to help themselves, and hardest for governments to help.
>
> Fourth, there is a cluster of new orthodox economic arguments for giving priority to rural, and particularly agricultural development. The strange errors of economists after the Second World War, with their belief in industrialization as the prime strategy for underdeveloped countries, have passed into history. The importance of self-sufficiency in food in order to save foreign exchange and to keep down

> urban wages; the need to develop cash crops in order to earn foreign exchange, particularly in those countries which lack minerals or oils for export; the existence of underexploited land and labour which can relatively easily be brought into production; the desirability of increasing rural purchasing power to provide markets for the new urban products--these are among the most persuasive economic reasons for the shift of priority towards agricultural development, reasons which seem unlikely to lose much of their force during the next decade and perhaps for much longer (Chambers, 1974, p. 12, 13).

## What is Rural Development

### Rural Development Defined

The main aim of rural development, as most of the practitioners in the field believe, is to change the situation in rural areas to meet the needs of the rural people and to reduce disparities between metropolitan centers and rural areas. The World Bank Rural Development Sector Policy Paper, issued by the World Bank in 1975, states that "rural development is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people--the rural poor. It involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in rural areas" (World Bank, 1975, p. 4). This definition stresses the importance of planned change in rural areas that is aimed at improving the economic and social life of the rural poor.

Philip Coombs (1972), presents a broader view regarding this issue. Coombs states:

> . . . economic growth, per se, or more narrowly, increased agricultural production, does not itself constitute successful rural development. Broadly conceived, rural development means rural transformation--change not only of the methods of production and of economic institutions but of social and political infrastructure as well, and transformation of human relationships and opportunities. The paramount goal of rural development, along with increased production and income, includes the equitable distribution of income, increased employment, land reform, better health, nutrition and housing for all rural dwellers, expanded educational opportunities for all, the strengthening of local means of community self-government and cooperation, the eradication of poverty, and the promotion of social justice. These are not simply "good things" to be pursued after economic growth has been achieved. They must be pursued concomitantly as being among the essential conditions for healthy economic development though obviously it will take hard effort over a long period of time (Coombs, 1972, p. 22).

One of the most recent publications of the United Nations Development Program has defined rural development as

> . . . a process of socio-economic change involving the transformation of agrarian society in order to reach a common set of development goals based on the capacities and the needs of the people. These goals include a nationally determined growth process that gives priority to the reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality, and the satisfaction of minimum human needs, and stress self-reliance and participation of the people, particularly those with the lowest standard of living (UNDP, 1979, p. 1).

This definition emphasizes the view that rural development goals should be suited to the needs and capacities of the people. It also implies that rural development is not working for the people but working with the participation of the people, relying primarily on their own resources. Uma Lele, (1975), who advanced a definition of rural development similar in content to the one above, has stressed the aspect of "self-sustenance" in the process of rural development. "Self-sustenance," he elaborates, "means involving, as distinct from

simply reaching, the subsistance populations through development programs " (Lele, 1975, p. 20).

In analysing the major themes stressed by the above definitions it is clear that rural development is concerned with the change and transformation of rural areas with the intent of improving the quality of life of the rural poor. The definitions also emphasize the meeting of basic needs as the major priority and stress the importance of enabling the rural people to take their destiny into their own hands by involving them in the process of development.

As Denis Goulet, (1971), points out, all poor countries in the world have as their major aim the bringing about of rapid development in the rural areas. In reality this is too great a task to be accomplished within a short period of time. "Their demographic increase, limited resource base, insufficient capital, shortage of skilled managerial, entrepreneurial, and technical personnel, and limited maneuvering room in the world political arena constitute obstacles to rapid gains" (Goulet, 1971, p. 29). He further emphasizes that macro and micro plans for rural development need to be formulated in the light of those limitations and constraints.

## Target Population

In shaping appropriate processes for development in the rural areas of the Third World, practitioners in the field of rural development believe that due consideration must be given to the nature of the population that is to be served. Though there are vast differences

among the rural areas in the Third World, the population can be divided into mainly two groups. One group consists of a small minority of elites composed of big landlords (i.e., *latifundia* classes in Latin American countries and *zamindars* in India and Pakistan), surplus farmers, big merchants and money lenders. The other group is the vast majority of masses, consisting of farmers with small holdings, near landless and landless farmers, share croppers, tenants, agricultural workers, self employed artisans and craftsmen, and the unemployed and their families.

Since World War II most low income countries have not been successful in their attempts to improve the conditions of these masses, and whatever attempts that have been made to develop the rural areas have, in most cases, only benefitted the rural elite. As Harry W. Blair points out, this may be the result of the alliance between the government officials at the periphery and the elites at the local level or it may be the result of "subversion (of government policies) at the local level by village elites, sabotage at the national level by landed interests." (Blair, 1974, p. 1) This makes it necessary for development plans to clarify the target population at the very outset as being comprised of the poor, which includes small-scale farmers, landless peasants and all other disenfranchsed groups in the rural areas of the Third World.

## Focus of Rural Development

One of the major concerns of rural development is the deter-

mination of its principal focus. Some of the major options in foci are: growth, distribution, liberation and empowerment. There has been much less agreement between the development planners as to what should be the actual focus of rural development--whether it should be growth, distribution, liberation or empowerment. In most rural development plans the objectives of growth or distribution takes precedence over objectives of liberation or empowerment. However, past experience reveals that if the focus of rural development is on growth, the elites in the rural areas will simply continue to grow and there will be very little left over for the masses to distribute among themselves. The result will be a lack of motivation on the part of the masses to work hard for growth. On the other hand, if the stress is on distribution, it will sometimes mean equalizing poverty or distributing that which is already there without any growth. Rural development practitioners in Third World countries believe that rural development has to be balanced, comprised of both growth and distribution aimed at reducing the disparities between the elite and the masses.

The attempt to deal with this problem in the Third World differs from country to country. Blair (1974) points out that:

> In most countries considerations of rural development, economic growth, in the sense of increased production and income, is seen as a goal separate from that of increments to production and income, as has been the case in West Pakistan over the last 15 years. The reverse is also possible as in Burma, which has had considerable progress in the equality of income distribution in the last decade, accompanied unfortunately by a pervasive economic stagnation . . . For Bangladesh

> neither of these alternatives is acceptable or permissible; the only possible type of rural development is the one that combines growth and equity (Blair, 1974, p. 5).

The other dimension of development significant to Third World countries is liberation. Liberation implies not only independence from foreign domination but also the ability to control one's own destiny. The Tanganyika African National Union guidelines (1971) elaborates development in the following manner:

> Development means liberation. Any action that gives people more control of their own affairs is an action for development even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces their say in determining their own lives is not development and retards them (TANGU, 1971, p. 1).

How effective this control is in the people's involvement in decision making and to what extent the implementation leads to the results they intend, depends on the extent of empowerment, which is another important dimension of rural development. Empowerment is a necessary condition for the people in Third World countries in order for them to take over the control of their own affairs. People cannot be fully liberated in any country without liberation being preceded and accompanied by a process of empowerment.

## Rural Development - The Changing Paradigm

A survey of literature on rural development reveals that the history of development efforts in less developed countries goes back to about 1945 or even earlier. After World War II, the U.S. and the developed Western European countries became concerned about the

problems of underdeveloped countries. However, they had no conceptual apparatus to analyse the process of economic growth in these countries. In the absence of a frame of reference, planners and policy makers of developed countries assumed that developing countries would undergo the same development process that the developing countries underwent at the beginning. They had seen that modern industrial societies had been undeveloped peasant societies before they reached their present stages of development. Secondly, they had before them the experience of the Marshall Plan in Europe, in which massive injections of capital and technological assistance helped to rebuild the economies of the European countries destroyed by the war. Following this frame of thinking, the search for a method of looking at social change and economic development in the Third World countries resulted in the development of a number of theories/models. Among these the two most important are:

1. The "index method" (Nash, 1963, p. 2) or the "gap approach."
2. The "diffusion model" (Chilcote, 1974, p. 3).

In the index method, "the general features of a developed economy are abstracted as an ideal type and then contrasted with the equally typical features of a poor economy and society. In this mode, development is viewed as the transformation of one type into the other" (Nash, 1963, p. 3). "You subtract the ideal features of underdevelopment, from those of development" states Kindelberger, "and the remainder is your development program" (Kindelberger, 1952, p. 391).

According to the diffusion model:

> . . . progress will come about through the spread of modernism (from developed countries) to backward, archaic, and traditional areas. Through the diffusion of technology and capital, these areas will inescapably evolve from a traditional towards a modern state (Chilcote, 1974, p. 3).

This theory implies that solutions to the problems of underdeveloped countries should originate in developed countries.

These models were based on the assumption that development in Third World countries would take place by:

1. Following the stages of development followed by developed countries.

2. Bridging the "gap" between developed and less developed countries by the diffusion of knowledge, skills, organizations, values, technology and capital from developed nations to poor nations.

3. Catching up with the consumption standards of the West.

## Transfer of Technology

Based on these assumptions, the foreign aid provided to the developing countries at the beginning of the post-war period took the form of technical assistance and transfer of technology. It was believed that transfer of technology would create the preconditions for development which would in turn pave the way for economic "take off" and ultimately lead to "maturity" and "mass consumption." No attempt was made to find out whether or not the technology transferred was appropriate in terms of the socio-economic and cultural context of the developing countries. On the other hand, Frank (1969) documents that:

> . . . the developing countries have always diffused out to their satellite colonial dependencies the technology whose employment in the colonial and now underdeveloped countries has served the interests of the metropolis; and the metropolis has always suppressed the technology in the now underdeveloped countries which conflict with the interests of the metropolis and its own development, as the Europeans did with the irrigation and other agricultural technology and the installations in India, Middle East. . ." (Frank, 1969, p. 54).

When this strategy failed to bring about the expected results, attempts were made to explain why the people in developing countries did not adopt the new technologies and why there was no participation on the part of the people in development efforts. Traditionalism, conservatism, customs and attitudes of the people were given as reasons. The following quotation is a clear example of such explanations:

> One major reason why the extention services have made such limited progress is undoubtedly the extreme conservatism of the farmers. Peasants all over the world are notoriously suspicious of change (IBRD, 1961, p. 105).

## Resource Based Approach

Later on, the focus shifted from technological assistance to the resource dimension of development. It was thought that the lack of resources (mainly capital) in underdeveloped countries was the main inhibiting factor in development. Capital formation was regarded as the most crucial factor which brings about development. Therefore, the trick of economic development was simply a matter of increasing savings and investment. This goal was to be achieved by encouraging participation on the part of the people in the form of savings and

investments, the paying of taxes and the tightening of their belts. The "savings gap" was to be filled through either foreign aid or private foreign investment.

This approach to development did not have the desired outcome. Firstly, the majority of the people in the Third World countries did not have enough to save. Secondly, foreign investment and foreign aid, instead of helping to bridge the "savings gap" and promote capital formation, led to the outflow of capital in the form of profit remittance and debt service. As Todaro (1977), had noted, savings and investments were a "necessary condition but not a sufficient condition for development" (Todaro, 1977, p. 54).

The failure of these strategies demonstrated the inappropriateness of Western models of economic development for Third World countries. It also revealed the lack of understanding of the dynamics of development in the Third World countries on the part of Western development experts. Todaro (1977), documents that "the Marshall Plan for Europe worked because the European countries receiving aid possessed the necessary structural, institutional, and attitudinal conditions . . . to convert new capital effectively into higher levels of output" (Todaro, 1977, p. 54). Whereas, in the Third World countries these conditions were not prevalent.

## Community Based Approaches

### Community Development

In the 1950s and 1960s the community development (Uphoff, 1979;

Biddle, 1965) approach, which is significant in the history of rural development, was introduced to Third World countries by Britain and the United States. This approach stressed the importance of the people's participation but was only another version of the old diffusionist strategy.

Community development emerged as a strategy for development at the grassroot level and was at the beginning associated with the British and American experience in local government and social welfare. The values of community development are rooted in the Judaeo-Christian teachings of the worth of human beings and respect for the individual. As a strategy it is based on the idea that development should start at the grassroot level and that if the people are made to realize their potentials, they can solve their problems through self-help programs using their imagination and initiative. Community development is defined by the U.S.I.A.C. (U.S. International Cooperation Administration) (1956), as:

> . . . a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems, execute these plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with service and material from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community (ICA, 1957, p. 2).

This approach was first introduced to India and the Philippines in the early 1950s and later spread to other countries. In India the community development movement was first begun with the assistance of the Ford Foundation. In the 1950s "the U. S. government was largely

responsible for the emergence of programs in some 25 countries, most of which had some strategic importance to the West" (Uphoff, 1979, p. 18). The United States helped to promote these programs by sending experts and providing technical assistance to interested governments. "The U. S. spent $50 million through the Community Development Division of its Aid Agency between 1952 and 1962 and channeled additional funds to another 30 countries through the United Nations" (Uphoff, 1979, p. 18).

The political leaders of certain Third World countries also favoured this strategy because they feared the spread of socialism in their "strongholds." Paul S. Taylor points out that:

> . . . the political leaders of both India and the Philippines felt a challenge to their leadership in the villages, coming from the supporters of totalitarian programs of development. They found community development an effective answer (Taylor, 1961, p. 11).

Animation Rurale

"Animation Rurale" (Moulton, 1977) was the French equivalent of the British and American community development programs in the developing countries. After the French colonies in Africa gained independence in 1958, "Animation Rurale" was the strategy used by the elites of these countries and their former colonial masters for alleviating poverty, reducing disparities and raising the quality of life of the people in rural areas, without disturbing the status-quo in these countries.

## Alliance for Progress

The Alliance for Progress--a program with similar intentions--was promoted by the United States in Latin American countries in the 1960s. It was a formula for gradual evolution and reform in housing, education and other sectors, with the participation of the people at the grassroot level. However, the strategic aims of the West and the maintenance of the balance of power within these countries figured more prominently in this strategy than the alleviation of poverty and hunger. The U. S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, declared that the Alliance "rests on the concept that this hemisphere is part of the Western civilization which we are pledged to defend." Venezuelan Romulo Betancourt stated that through the Alliance "we must help the poor . . . to save the rich" (Quotes in Chilcote, p. 21, 22).

## Achievements and Failures

In India and other countries the community development programs led to the construction of infrastructural facilities in the villages such as roads and footpaths, school buildings, houses, latrines, the digging of wells, opening up of cottage industries, and a great many other activities. It also helped to create an immense interest in the self-help activities and community problems during the initial stages. But as a strategy it failed to respond to the basic problems of the rural areas--poverty, hunger, disease and inequalities.

At the initial stages some of the national governments took a keen interest in the community development programs, and assistance

also flowed into the rural areas in these countries in the form of experts, money, and machinery. But with national governments getting more involved in industrialization, urbanization, and modernization with the aim of increasing the national income of the countries and catching up with advanced countries, the interest petered out.

Besides these tendencies, there were many shortcomings and built-in defects in the approach. Arvind Narayan Das of the National Labour Institute, New Delhi, has expressed the following opinions on the Community Development Movement in India:

> The Community Development Movement implicitly accepted the assumptions that individuals, groups and classes in the village have common interests which are sufficiently strong to bind them together. It also assumed that interests were sufficiently common to generate enthusiasm and further that conflict of interests were sufficiently reconcilable. These assumptions proved to be unrealistic. In fact, the better off benefited the most from programs and a growing disparity and inequality became visible in the rural areas (Das, 1978, p. 12).

In most countries where community development programs were implemented, it was generally considered that working with the traditional leaders at the village level would benefit the whole community. In India it became evident after several evaluations that the "better off, mainly the dominant land owning groups, benefitted from the extension work and other projects, rather than the majority of the poor peasants in the community" (Das, 1976, p. 12).

Though community development was based on the assumption that initiative should come from the people at the grassroot level, in actual practice decisions were imposed from above through ministries at the

national level. The bureaucrats in the Third World countries, who were accountable to their respective ministries and not to the people, did not respect the ideas coming from below. The village-level workers soon became agents of the government more than change agents working at the village level. As agents of the central government, they were over-burdened with too many responsibilities. Moreover, they were outsiders who had no interest in the village and their training was not appropriate for the work they were expected to do.

"Animation Rurale" and the Alliance for Progress, which were similar to community development in assumptions, goals, and program content, failed to bring about expected results due to major reasons which were similar to reasons that led to the failure of community development. In trying to explain the failure of the Alliance for Progress, Federico Gil (1971) documents that "the new program floundered at first in a swamp of bureaucratic organization. Administration of the Alliance was entrusted to the Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.), which was not structured to undertake such an essentially revolutionary task" (Gil, 1971, p. 245).

## An Alternative Viewpoint

The failure of all the above approaches led to growing disenchantment with the "diffusion" model. This resulted in looking at underdevelopment in the Third World countries from different perspectives. One of the major approaches to the study of underdevelopment

which has gained increasing support in the recent years is the "international structuralist" model. "This model essentially views Third World countries as being beset by institutional and structural economic rigidities and caught up in a 'dependence' and dominance relationship to rich countries" (Todaro, 1977, p. 55). Todaro (1977) points out that there are two streams of thought in the international structuralist model:

1. The "neo-colonial dependence" model.
2. The "false paradigm" model (Todaro, 1977, p. 55, 56).

Neo-Colonial Dependence Model

The neo-colonial dependence model assumes that historically underdevelopment began with colonialism. "The now developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been undeveloped (Frank, 1969, p. 4). In other words, prior to their industrial revolutions, the resources of the developed countries were untapped; however, these countries never experienced large-scale exploitation of their resources by another country. The present underdeveloped conditions in the Third World countries is a "by-product of development" (Goulet, 1971, p. 38) and largely a part of the "historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between satellite underdeveloped and now developed metropolitan countries" (Frank, 1979, p. 4). As a result of the uneven development of capitalism, "the world consists of center and periphery nations, and each nation in turn has its center and periphery" (Galtung, 1971, p. 81).

The countries in the periphery are exploited both by the center and by the metropolitan areas in the peripheral countries. Thus, the differences between developed and underdeveloped countries depend on the respective position of each country in the international economic order of production and distribution. This theory makes it clear that underdevelopment is the result of the unequal distribution of power or the dominant-dependent relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries.

False Paradigm Model

According to the false paradigm model, Third World underdevelopment is the result of "inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed international 'expert' advisers from both developed country assistance agencies and multi-national donor organizations (like the World Bank, UNESCO, the ILO, UNDP and the International Monetary Fund)" (Todaro, 1977, p. 56). The Third World countries have been forced to rely on these "experts" and advisers because of the dependent position of these countries vis-à-vis the developed countries.

The presence of foreign experts in the Third World countries has not only led to more and more dependency, but has also created other problems in these countries. To cite Sri Lanka as an example, over 300 foreign experts (costing about $15 million a year to the government) are now serving in Sri Lanka. Their presence has led to dissatisfaction, frustration, low morale and anger among the skilled

personnel in the country. This has resulted, in part, in the exodus of the skilled personnel to other countries. Ericsohn (1981) documents that "there is the indisputable fact that, for some foreign experts, a posting to the developing world is a license to take an extended paid holiday. These are a small minority but their very indolence and, too often, arrogance makes them highly visible." For the foreign experts, he states, "memo writing begins to seem infinitely more important than the dam waiting to be built, children waiting to be nourished or land waiting to be irrigated" (Ericsohn, 1981, p. 21). It is no wonder that a Sri Lankan engineer who has the same qualifications and experience as the foreign expert is reluctant to attend to his duties,

> . . . when his German or Canadian colleague earns forty times his salary, lives in an air conditioned bungalow and spends his weekends at a yacht club. The resentment breeds and programs are slowed, even hamstrung (Ericsohn, 1981, p. 21).

## Path Out of Dependency

From the above analysis it is clear that underdevelopment and dependency are twin phenomena. Dependency has two facets--external and internal. External dependency is the direct outcome of the expansion of monopoly capital to developing countries, unequal trade relations, the control of the world market by developed countries to their own advantage and the intellectual hegemony exercised by foreign experts from developing countries and international agencies.

> Internal forms of dependency are really indirect spinoffs of the external dependencies and now have their own momentum. Internal forms include the disintegration of the mode of production of goods and distortions of the domestic economic structure (Kindervatter, 1979, p. 28).

For underdeveloped countries to overcome dependency and to enter the path of development, structural changes have to be made:

1. in the international economic order with a view to correct the unjust trade, economic and other relations.

2. in the internal economic and socio-political set-up of the underdeveloped countries.

New International Economic Order

Since the Bandung conference of 1955 called by President Sukharno of Indonesia, attempts have been made to change the international economic order in order to overcome external dependency. In 1974, the group of Seventy Seven in the United Nations introduced the concept of the "New International Economic Order" with the view to narrow the gap between developed and developing nations, correct the inequalities, and redress the injustices. The resolution pointed out that:

1. The existing economic order was established at a time when the developing countries were colonies and did not exist as individual states.

2. No justice, balance, or even development could be achieved under the existing set-up.

Therefore, the resolution called for the:

> ...establishment of a just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported, and

> prices of raw materials, primary commodities, and manufactured and capital goods imported by developing countries with the aim of improving their terms of trade which have continued to deteriorate (U.N., 1974, p. 2).

So far, steps that have been taken in the direction of establishing a "New International Economic Order" have not gone very far. This has been due to the constraints arising from the unequal power relations between developed and developing countries. However, it has become one of the main focuses of attention in the United Nations, the Organization of Non-Aligned Nations and other international organizations. Perhaps it may take some time for these ongoing discussions to bear fruit. But internal change within developing countries could be made if there were enough political will on the part of the rulers.

## Internal Structural Changes

Some of the internal changes that have been suggested in the literature are:

1. Bringing about major changes in the political balance of power within these societies and drastic economic and social reforms.
2. Breaking the alliance between the feudal landlords, industrialists and middle classes.
3. Distribution of income more equally.
4. Adoption of labor intensive production techniques.
5. Reduction of inequalities in ownership through land reforms.
6. Production of essential consumer goods rather than luxury goods.

7. Revision of tax laws in order to benefit the poor.
8. Provision of more credit facilities for the poor.
9. Restructuring of administration.
10. Mobilization of scientific resources and reorientation of industry.
11. Changing commercial networks and banking practices.
12. Redirecting education.
13. Provision of local leadership and extension services.

With the participation and involvement of the people, some of the Third World countries such as the People's Republic of China and Tanzania have been able to adopt some of the above strategies. The implementation of some of these changes in certain countries would mean a complete overhaul of their internal socio-political structure. This might not be possible without a change in the political leadership and political power relations in the country. However, self-reliant development is one of the major themes stressed by most countries as a way out of dependency, irrespective of the political structure of these countries.

## Self-Reliant Development

Taking into consideration the hegemony of developed countries over resources and markets and the constraints arising out of this situation, for most poor Third World countries there is no other alternative except to follow a path of development which relies on the local resources and energies of the people. Therefore, the con-

cept of self-reliance has gained increasing attention in these countries. As Abdella (1980) notes:

> . . . good development should essentially undo the ties of dependency; then it should correct the distortions and achieve internal integration of national development. In other words, a country will be considered developing well only insofar as the change introduced into the economy and society as a whole lead to a balanced, self-centered and independent development (Abdalla, 1980, p. 14).

For Third World countries which have been under imperialist domination for years, development essentially means not only undoing the ties of dependency, but also adopting a policy of self-reliance in order to do away with the dependency on foreign assistance, to develop an appropriate technology suited to the country, and to transform the colonial bureaucracy into a development-oriented bureaucracy. In discussing efforts in Third World countries to develop rural areas, Abdalla points out that:

> . . . we have to raise the question: What resources does a nation have in the first place to bring about development? The answer is obvious, but too often overlooked: the energy of its people. Self-reliance or reliance on the energy and resources of the people is the most crucial factor in development. How can these energies be harnessed for the development of the environment? Hence the question of motivation comes naturally to the fore. Why should people work hard for their country? How can they feel concerned and get involved? The answer, once more, is self-evident: they will work if and when they believe that the fruits of their endeavors belong to them (Abdalla, 1980, p. 15).

China, under the rule of Mao Tse-tung, had advocated self-reliant development ever since the rift with the Soviet Union began. And during the last 15 years, the People's Republic of China has

demonstrated that self-reliant development is possible if there is:

1. The political will on the part of the leadership and genuine commitment for development.

2. Involvement of the general masses at the grassroot level in all processes of development.

Nyerere has said that economic independence could be achieved only through self-reliance. Self-reliance according to Nyerere implies:

1. Dependence on (our own) resources of land and people.

2. Development through agriculture.

3. Adoption of agricultural methods appropriate to the country.

4. Development of labour-intensive small industries with available capital (Nyerere, 1968, pp. 95-96).

## A New Conceptualization of Development

In recent years, the concept of development itself has undergone changes along with the other changes discussed above. The traditional method was to look at development from the perspective of the GNP or the per capita income. The new trend is to view development in the way it affects the lives of the masses of people. From this perspective important questions concerning development are:

> What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all these have, it would be strange to call the result development, even if per capita income doubled (Seers, 1969, p. 3).

Human Needs Viewpoint

The basic reality facing the Third World today is the fact that unemployment, poverty and inequalities are a fact of life. The basic question is: What can be done to bring about a "better" or "more humane" life? The answer to this question involves various options. But out of these options, which should be given the highest priority? Goulet (1971) suggests that satisfaction of fundamental or basic human needs be given the major priority. These needs are, Goulet elaborates, "life-sustenance needs--food, shelter, health and protection; self-esteem--sense of worth and self respect; and freedom from servitude" (Goulet, 1971, pp. 87-91). Philip Coombs (1980) affirms that:

> . . . the new international consensus calls for a massive, multi-faceted rural development effort aimed at meeting the "basic needs" of the rural poor, with special attention to disadvantaged women, young children and minorities; at increasing rural employment, and the productivity of small farmers and other rural workers; and at the full participation of all rural people in the development process, and equitable distribution of its benefits (Coombs, 1980, p. 1).

A Third World Perspective

Sartaj Aziz (1980), the President of the Society for International Development (SID), surveying briefly the lessons of the last 30 years, and reflecting on the meaning and content of development, recorded these main observations:

> First, it is more than material progress; it contains cultural, social, political and above all, human dimensions.

> Second, development is largely an autonomous process and can be engineered from the above to a limited extent.
>
> The purpose of this process is:
>
> (I) to achieve a sustained increase in production.
>
> (II) to distribute resource equitably.
>
> (III) to respect the natural environment and the ecological balance.
>
> (IV) to modernize in a way that builds on society's indigenous values and meets the non-material needs of people.
>
> Third, no model of development can achieve these four objectives simultaneously and in all countries. Growth may conflict with redistribution, both may conflict with environmental concerns and conservation, and change and disruption may conflict with traditional values.
>
> Fourth, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to follow a strategy of "grow first, redistribute later." Distribution and investment in human beings have to precede economic growth within a short time.
>
> Finally, the diversity of countries and people suggests that there is a need not for a single development strategy but for a range, to suit the economic, social, political and cultural circumstances of different societies (Aziz, 1980, p. 11)

In summarizing the ideas expressed at the 16th World Conference (1979) of the Society for International Development (SID) held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, Paul Streeter said that in spite of the diversity of experiences and views (regarding development), certain common themes clearly emerged, among which three can be said to be very important:

1. The need to build development efforts on indigenous values, combining modernity and tradition and avoiding both a reaction to tribalism and an imposition of alien values and ideologies.

2. The need for new institutions both at the sub-national and at the super-national level.

3. The need to adjust to inevitable changes rationally and with foresight (Streeter, 1980, p. 7)

With these changes in the development specialist's and practitioner's ways of thinking, it has become increasingly accepted that if people are to become the subject for both development goals and strategies, then it is natural that people's participation in the development process be considered as being central to development. With this new thinking the concept of people's participation in rural development has gained prominence. As a concept, people's participation became important, (Cohen, 1977; Uphoff, 1979) primarily because the events in China, Cuba, Vietnam and in certain other countries demonstrated that popularly supported national liberation/guerrilla movements in the countryside had enabled these countries to liberate themselves from foreign domination. In addition, such movements were instrumental in making major shifts in the world political balance of power. Politicians and development theorists have come to realize that popular participation can be a useful strategy to mobilize masses of people in rural areas (especially in less developed countries) and to harness their energies for development in these countries.

## Summary and Conclusion

Rural development is the major focus and the major priority in most less developed countries in the world today. The people in rural areas constitute the majority of the population in the Third World countries. They are also the most neglected and, therefore, in most

need of help in the form of development intervention. During recent years there has been a growing interest in rural development worldwide. However, one of the major constraints to rural development has been the absence of a comprehensive conceptual framework, to understand the phenomenon of underdevelopment and the problems and needs of the rural people.

The search for a conceptual framework led to the development of models/theories, which assumed that developing countries should follow the same pattern as the developed countries in their process of development. When development interventions based on these theories failed to produce results, a completely different set of theories, such as the neo-colonial dependency model, which views underdevelopment as a by-product of development, came into being. These models and counter models and the interventions based on these models, though not very helpful in solving the problems of the rural people, have contributed to enrich the experience and deepen the understanding of rural development workers throughout the world.

During the last two decades there has been a growing consensus among all interested in rural development, that underdevelopment has two major dimensions--one external and the other internal. The problems related to the external dimension can best be addressed by making structural changes in the international economic order, specifically, by changes in unequal trade relations. Bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements between developed and developing countries

are a prerequisite for any movement in this direction. However, negotiating such agreements is an enormous task which requires much deliberations and negotiations.

Regarding the internal dimension, there is a growing consensus among rural development practitioners that immediate steps could be taken in the direction of solving some of the problems of the rural people. According to the current growing trend of thought among practitioners, development should be "human being centered" and attempts should be made to satisfy the basic needs of the people, specifically, the needs of the rural poor. Self-reliance; grass-roots level initiative; cultural, social and ecological considerations; a balance between growth and distribution; and a movement in the direction of liberation and empowerment are considered to be the key elements of this paradigm of thought. For a development strategy based on this model to succeed, it is assumed that the active participation of the people in the process of development is a major requirement. People's participation, which is considered as the central ingredient in rural development, is the focus of the next chapter.

# C H A P T E R III

## PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The current consensus in rural development, as stated in the last chapter, calls for a strategy focused on participation of rural poor in the development process. This implies that rural poor will be the major beneficiaries of development. If development is to be self-sustaining, the benefits should come as a result of their "own will and work." In order for this to happen both a continuous dialogue between the planners and the rural poor and the involvement of the rural poor in all processes of development are necessary. As Chambers (1974) points out, participation is important for:

1. making local wishes known
2. generating development ideas
3. providing local knowledge
4. testing proposals for feasibility and improving them
5. increasing the capability of communities to handle their affairs and control and exploit their environment
6. extracting, developing and investing local resources (labor, finance, managerial skills, etc.)
7. promoting desirable relationships between people, especially through co-operative work (Chambers, 1974, p. 85, 86).

A recent U.N.D.P. publication illustrating the significance of involvement and participation of the rural poor observes that:

> A primary objective (of rural development) should be to improve the quality of life of the rural poor. This im-

> plies the involvement of the rural poor in the development process and requires the participation in the decision making process and the implementation of those decisions. It presupposes that the rural poor will gain increased economic opportunities through productive and remunerative employment, increased access to resources, and an equitable distribution of income and wealth. The mobilization of the energies and the resources of the rural poor themselves emerge as the key factor in increasing both their productivity and self-reliance. Such mobilization requires the formation, adaptation and strengthening of community structures including organizations of the rural poor (U.N.D.P., 1979, p. 11).

## Rationale for Popular Participation

People's participation in rural development is emerging as one of the central themes of rural development. For successful rural development efforts, international agencies and development scientists consider that participation is not merely desirable but a necessary element. Popular participation is regarded as a crucial factor in development for many reasons. Some of these reasons, summarized by Lin Compton, (1979), are as follows:

1. The growing awareness among the many developing nations that the resources needed to develop diverse and populous areas are so massive that a major proportion of them must be mobilized from within these areas. Governments are coming to realize that their greatest resource in the development process are the people themselves. The tapping of this resource through its mobilization, organization, education and training, and the concentrated application on local problems and needs is a great challenge that might only be met through predetermined schemes to foster mass participation on a grand rather than on a gradual scale.

2. The growing realization by various government delivery systems (agents of development, i.e., agricultural extension) that the ready consumption of delivered services is dependent upon demand. In short, the rate of consumption

of a delivered product on service is directly related to the receiver's perception of its fit with his needs. This, then, would suggest a strong relationship between the popular use of government services and popular participation in the prior determination of what those services should consist of.

3. Centralized patterns of development decision-making have generally been unable to accommodate local variations or to obtain needed local resources. Highly centralized strategies result in minor mobilization of economic resources, little improvement in planning and management skills of local people, and little incorporation of indigenous experience and knowledge into development efforts. Popular participation can be conceived as a means of coping with problems of scale, resource scarcity, and the adaptation of development efforts to local conditions.

4. Popular participation appears to be an important socio-psychological ingredient in individual and community development. The relationship between participation and the ensuing positive self-concept, a sense of commitment and responsibility to others readily serves as a motivational basis for personal and community change. The importance of popular participation in catalyzing the foundation of development, i.e., a sense of identity and belonging, must not be underestimated (Compton, 1979, pp. 2-4).

## Significance of Popular Participation

The concept of popular participation has a long history. Even before the turn of the century, political scientists considered popular participation to be significant for the success of democracy and for the political stability of a country. However, it is only during the last few years that popular participation came to be considered as an essential ingredient for rural development.

A survey of the literature on participatory rural development reveals that the emerging of participation as a crucial factor in rural development has been under way since the 1960s. Owens and Shaw

(1972) pointed out that participation is a major ingredient for development. Having studied the conditions of a number of Third World countries, they came to the conclusion that societies that are "decentralized and participatory"--which they refer to as "modernized" societies--meet certain basic human needs more than "centralized and paternalistic" societies. It seems that to modernize a society, the relationship between the government and the mass of the people should be restructured so as to enable the people to exercise influence over the national policies that affect their lives. To quote Owens and Shaw,

> Hence, the first step in development is to arrange the mass of the people in relatively autonomous local institutions and to link these institutions with higher levels of the economy and the society. People can be expected to invest in a modern economy only when they believe they are a part of it and can benefit from it (Owens and Shaw, 1972, pp. 42-43).

World Bank Sector Policy Paper on Rural Development states:

> Community involvement in the selection, design, construction and implementation of rural development programs has often been the first step in the acceptance of change leading to adoption of new techniques of production (World Bank, 1975, p. 35).

A recent report of the Club of Rome, discussing the importance of participation, declares that:

> On the one hand it is no longer feasible to hand down decisions or ready-made solutions from above. On the other hand, there is a need for social interaction inherent in participation, both to reconcile differing anticipations as well as to develop the harmony or consensus essential to implementing a chosen course of action. There is a near-universal demand for increased participation at all levels. More people are aware of and are using their capacity to obstruct rather

> than to support decisions, reached without their concurrence, regardless of the merits of such decisions (Botkin, 1979, p. 29).

It is not only in U.N., World Bank and other documents of international agencies that one finds reference to the importance of participation in the rural development process. Certain other recent studies (Uphoff, 1974) on rural development also show that there is a correlation between the amount of popular participation at the local level and the increase in agricultural production, the increase in social welfare and the increase in benefits to the community. A 16-country study on local organizations for rural development, conducted in 1974 by Cornell University, reveals that a system of participatory local organizations can play a very important role in rural development efforts at the local level. The study correctly points out that

> . . . local participation can bring useful, locally based information and local interests into the decision making process, and it can reveal and tap previously unrecognized managerial and leadership talents. The opportunity to participate, even when it is taken up by relatively few local people, enhance the legitimacy of the institutions and also national government, provides a ready outlet for the expression of grievances and can generate local cooperation and self-help activities for development (Uphoff, 1974, pp. 81-82).

It conclues that

> Our analysis of participation showed an association, though not a perfect one, between participation and rural development (p. 83).

A study of three infrastructure constructional projects in Nepal conducted by Pradhan (1980) shows that participation of the people at the local level makes the local organizations effective in fulfilling

the objectives of the projects. The following concluding remarks of the study strongly support the notion of popular participation:

> The organizational pattern of cases presented here clearly support the view that participatory characteristics (involving the people in decision-making for the program and implementation of the program) makes the local organizations effective in fulfilling objectives. Especially ad hoc organizations for rural public works involving a cross-section of the population in initiation and implementation of the projects has proven effective (Pradhan, 1980, p. 84).

Pradhan suggests that the government programs for rural development in Nepal need to give serious attention to revising the organizational patterns, and that a deliberate effort should be made to create participatory organizations at the grassroot level.

The vital role of popular participation was endorsed by a recent USAID study of 36 African and Latin American countries. It showed a "clear connection between the success of projects and participation on the part of small farmers in decision-making and in resource commitment to the project" (Quote in Cohen, 1977, p. 4). A joint UNICEF/WHO study in 1975 of alternative approaches to meeting basic health needs cited in a UNDP study (in discussing the significance of popular participation), "stresses the importance of the 'untapped' resources within communities in the form of facilities, manpower, logistic support and possibly funds" (Quote in UNDP, 1979, p. 33).

It is believed that through popular participation, human and material resources in the rural areas of the Third World countries can be put to more constructive use. To elicit popular participation, a redistribution of power and wealth, a change in attitudes of the

people, and especially the empowerment of the people should take place. The absence of these factors will delay or prevent Third World countries from moving towards adopting participation-oriented development strategies. For countries which are overpopulated and endowed with few natural resources, as in the case of most Third World countries, people will be the main resource for development. In these countries the maximum use of human resources is possible, along with other natural resources that can be employed, only through the people's participation in the development effort.

A survey of literature on rural development participation suggests that though there are many references to the importance of participation, very few attempts have been made to discuss what is implied by the phrase "participation in the rural development process." In the following section an attempt will be made to examine the meaning of participation in the context of rural development and to answer the basic questions of "what is participation?" "who participates?" and "how does participation occur?"

## Meaning of Participation

In the context of community education, Vella (1979) observes that "comprehensive participation means not only attention to all grownups (attention to the young, men and women, wise and foolish) but attention on every level of programming, planning, implementation and evaluation" (Vella, 1979, p. 113). The above definition suggests some of the main ingredients that should be included in a participatory community education process and that may be fully appropriate

to the rural development process. However, it is not comprehensive enough to cover all aspects of the rural development process.

Mushi (1978), discussing popular participation and regional planning in the context of Tanzania, states that popular participation has been defined in standard literature "as a process of interaction between the government public service and the people." He further elaborates upon some of the essential conditions that are considered to be requirements for participation by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) government in Tanzania in accordance with its ideology.

> (a) Participation must be seen as a part and parcel of Tanzanian development strategy, and there should therefore be no separation between the formal government structures and the local structures of participation insofar as planning is concerned.
>
> (b) The interaction between the peasants/villagers and public service must be based on the common understanding of the benefits occurring from it rather than on fear or false promises.
>
> (c) The common understanding requires a flow of information from the public service to the villages and from the villages to the public service, for there can be no participation without information.
>
> (d) Functions must be shared in practice and not simply in theory.
>
> (e) The peasants/villagers must be made to understand and accept the principles of reciprocity, or "give and take," rather than assuming that the government will be always the benevolent giver and they the needy receivers (Mushi, 1978, p. 65).

The above requirements highlight some of the most essential elements that should be encompassed in a participatory rural development process. However, the main focus here is only on the mode of inter-

action between the peasants/villagers and the governmental bureaucracy.

## Dimensions

One of the more successful attempts to discuss rural development participation in a more comprehensive manner has been made by the Cornell University Rural Development Committee. Research into the controversial nature of this concept of participatory rural development, which was undertaken by the Cornell University Rural Development Committee (Cohen, 1977 and Uphoff, 1979), consists of very careful documentation resulting from thorough scholarly work. In analysing participation, the Rural Development Committee was of the opinion that it is more appropriate to think of participation in terms of the "what?" "who?" and "how?" dimensions. The discussion along these lines is summarized below.

## The "What" Dimension of Participation

Having recognized the fact that there are many kinds of participation, the Rural Development Committee (Uphoff, 1979; Cohen, 1977) focused on the four they believed to be most significant to rural development activities within the first dimension:

1. participation in decision-making.
2. participation in implementation.
3. participation in benefits.
4. participation in evaluation (Uphoff, 1979, p. 6, 7).

Participation in decision making implies involvement of people in "initial," "on-going" and "operational" decisions. These also may include who should be included as members, how meetings should be conducted and who should be the leaders, etc. Participation in implementation will be concerned with issues relating to carrying out of the project. Participation in benefits involves the "quality and quantity" of benefits each group is entitled to. Participation in evaluation encompasses the involvement of local people in assessing the relevance and the success/failure of the project through criticism or reflecting satisfaction/dissatisfaction.

## The "Who" Dimension of Participation

The second dimension in rural development participation is the question of who participates in the process of decision making, implementation, sharing of benefits, and evaluation. The Cornell University R.D.C. suggests four types of participants for rural development at the local level whose characteristics deserve specific attention. They are:

1. Local residents (a large and heterogeneous category).
2. Local leaders, including informal leaders, association heads and office holders.
3. Government personnel.
4. Foreign personnel (Uphoff, 1979, p. 7).

The "How" Dimension of Participation

The "how" dimension of participation is concerned with the way in which participation occurs. By looking at the "what" and "who" dimensions of participation, it is only possible to assess the amount, distribution and trends of participation. But the way in which it occurs is also important, because it makes possible a better understanding of why participation occurs, why participation continues and declines in a project. etc. The "how" dimension of participation includes the following considerations:

(a) Where the initiative for participation comes from--mostly from above or from below.

(b) What inducements for participation are involved--how voluntary or coerced it is, with a range of positive and negative motivations possible between the two extremes.

(c) The structure.

(d) Channels of participation--whether it occurs on an individual or collective basis, with formal and informal organization, whether it is direct participation or indirect (through representatives).

(e) Duration.

(f) Scope of participation--whether once-and-for-all, intermittent or continuous, and to what range of activities it extends.

(g) Empowerment--how effective people's involvement in the decision-making, implementation, etc. will lead to the results they intend (Cohen, 1977, pp. 16-17).

If every person at the grassroots level can participate in all the activities--decision-making, implementation, sharing of benefits and evaluation--of the rural development process, and if the way in which participation occurs ultimately leads to complete empowerment

of the people, it will be an ideal form of rural development participation. But this ideal type of participation is not possible anywhere in the world. The Rural Development Committee of Cornell University states that this model developed by them was not intended as a perfect model for participatory rural development but was intended to serve as a set of indicators of participation for project evaluation.

## Context of Rural Development Participation

The way participation takes place, who participates and in what activities, the Rural Development Committee (Cohen, 1977; Uphoff, 1979) of the Cornell University points out, are factors depending on the context of each individual country and situation. The complexities of the society and the environment in which participation takes place will determine the nature and the extent of participation. Therefore, in considering a participatory rural development process, special attention needs to be given to:

(1) the environment in which a rural development project or activity is to operate.

(2) the nature of the project or activity itself.

Regarding the environment in which a project operates, factors such as physical, economic, social, political, cultural and historical should be taken into consideration. These factors will determine to a large extent the "who," "what" and "how" components of participation. In a hierarchically organized society, for example, there will obviously be limitations to participation.

The nature of the project or the activity itself also plays an important part in determining participation. The quality and quantity of benefits from a project will determine who participates in a project only if they can get tangible and immediate benefits from it. The distribution of benefits have an important effect on participation. Furthermore, the type of technology used, the resource requirement of the project, and the (program) flexibility of the project will also affect participation. For example, a project which involves complex technology (requiring the service of experts) and a significant amount of resource contribution will exclude or limit the participation of the rural poor.

## Style of Development

According to a UNDP study, the degree of participation and involvement of the people will be determined by the style of development which a country selects. This UNDP study, undertaken in June, 1979 has categorized Third World countries into three broadly defined styles of development, according to the

> . . . nature of socio-political options they have taken: technocratic, reformist and radical. In the technocratic style, increases in aggregate output take precedence over all other objectives and inequalities are tolerated as contributing to higher rates of growth. The reformist and radical styles differ in the degree to which they are willing to compromise growth for the sake of greater equity and mass participation. As far as rural development is concerned, the radical style emphasizes land reform and the distribution of assets rather than income (UNDP, 1979, p. 6).

It concludes that most Third World countries today cluster towards the technocratic end of the spectrum, leaving little room for participation.

Development "Models"

S. S. Mushi (1978), in a paper discussing "Popular Participation and Regional Development Planning," points out that the degree of participation of the people will depend on the development model followed by the government of a particular country. He argues that there are two models of development followed in Third World countries: the "technico-rational" model and the "politico-transformation" model. The main implicit assumptions of the "technico-rational" model are:

1. The government (central or local) will be responsible for most development projects and programs, with the people being called upon to make only minimal contributions.

2. There are enough experts to manage the development projects and programs and to follow the complex procedures as they rush from one village to another.

3. Information is readily available about the development situation in the village and therefore "feedback" is not a major constraint.

4. There is widespread "economic rationality" in the village, so that where projects require popular inputs, the people will readily cooperate as long as they can be assured by the "experts" that the project will advance their material well-being. Thus the task of mobilization is not so big if you are dealing with an "economic man" (Mushi, 1978, p. 70).

Mushi (1978) explains that experts who plan and implement projects in such societies assume that peasant life is traditional and

superstitious and that peasants are not capable of contributing much to the success of a project. Experts also believe that the participation of people creates unnecessary delays in development. It is clear that the "technico-rational" model results in de-participation rather than in participation.

The "politico-transformational" model, on the other hand, "while striving to achieve higher levels of production, has transformation of the economy and society as its central objective, and planning is done with this objective in mind. It places as much emphasis on the role of the broad masses as it does on that of the experts in bringing about development, but it must be development with transformation, not simple statistical increase in production within the existing structure" (Mushi, 1978, p. 72). This model obviously provides for more popular participation. Most Third World countries prefer to follow the former model rather than the latter. In the case of Tanzania (Mushi, 1978) the ideology of socialism implies the "politico-transformational" model, while in practice the "technico-rational" model is followed.

## Planning "Models" at Local Levels

Mushi (1978) stresses the need to examine participation in the context of the type of planning model followed at the regional and local levels. There are two types of planning models followed in the Third World countries at the local level--"vertical" and "horizontal"

planning models. Mushi documents that

> . . . the "vertical" approach emphasizes sectoral planning, while "horizontal" emphasizes multi-sectoral planning and more efficient mobilization of local resources--human, material and technical--leading to integrated development at the local level (Mushi, 1978, p. 81).

The vertical planning orientation leaves very little room for people's participation at the grassroots level.

> The "horizontal" planning orientation affords meaningful popular participation, maximizes the use of local resources, materials, both technical and human, and leads to the satisfaction of the needs of those concerned as well as encouraging the spirit of self-reliance (Mushi, 1978, p. 82).

However, in most countries it is the vertical model that is being followed.

## Decentralization

Among the pre-conditions for popular participation at village and regional levels, decentralization is a crucial factor. Decentralization implies a transfer of power from the central government to provinces, regions, districts and villages. This power should encompass, among other things, the power to control financial resources and decisions, and to plan and implement projects at the local level. It is only through a decentralization of power that the initiative and energies of the people could be mobilized to the fullest extent. In most Third World countries there may be some sort of decentralization in theory, but it amounts only "to deconcentration of power" (Mushi, 1978, p. 93). In a sense, that the power to implement projects is

given to the local levels, while the power of decision making and financial control remains at the center. Information usually flows down from the top through a hierarchically structured bureaucracy, and there is no bottom-up communication.

The above discussion clearly reveals that there is no universal model of participation that will be appropriate to any local level rural development or any socio-economic environment. Nevertheless, the ideas encompassed here can serve as useful reference points in evaluating participatory rural development projects or in designing projects to involve the people at the local level.

## Participation in Practice

The experience of the effectiveness of the people's participation in rural development is marked by both successes and failures. The outcome depends on a number of variables--the political system and the political culture of the country, the aims of the state, the dedication of the leadership, and their ability to mobilize people, the institutional and attitudinal infrastructure of the country, social and cultural ethos of the people, etc.--which interact with one another.

Chambers (1974), whose work Managing Rural Development focussed on East Africa, documents that there is a difference between the rhetoric used by the politicians and the actual occurrence of the people's participation in practice. In reality, participation seems to lie on a continuum--"nominal participation" (one-way communication,

officials get a chance to deliver the message), "consultative participation" (people are consulted but decisions are made elsewhere), "responsible participation" (active involvement in all stages of the process). The extent of participation on the part of members of the community varies on this continuum.

Chambers points out that participation can be analyzed as follows:

1. how one participates, what institutions are involved and what objectives and functions it has (Chambers, 1974, p. 85).

2. in terms of two streams of initiative--communication and resources: those which are top-down, and those which are bottom-up (Chambers, 1974, p. 88).

The experience of the top-down initiative--development committees and block grants--show that outcomes have not been very positive. The development committees "in their early composition, style and operation, fall into two groups: large political forums and smaller caucuses of civil servants" (Chambers, 1974, p. 89). The former type often becomes "talking shops" and the latter forums where interests of civil servants are discussed. The bottom-up initiative--self-help projects which present opportunities for promoting greater participation of the people is faced with problems of "control and planning, authoritarianism, implementation and operational maintenance" (Chambers, 1974, p. 102). He concludes that very often participation

> . . . means more influence and resources to those who are already influential and better off, while those who are less influential and less well off benefit much less . . . (Chambers, 1974, p. 108).

Two Case Studies

Tanzania. Tanzania is one of the East African countries which emphasizes people's participation in the approach to rural development--mainly in the Ujamaa program. The experience demonstrates that there are a number of built-in shortcomings and limitations in the attempt to elicit and promote participation of the local people and the government officers in development.

As a participatory approach to rural development the Ujamaa program is based on the following assumptions:

1. Traditionally there were no landed and landless classes and therefore the society was homogeneous and had common interests.

2. The extended family structure in the villages had the potential for participation and cooperation in all activities of the village and for the sharing among all members on an equal basis of whatever was produced.

Both of these assumptions are questionable. In Tanzania, though there was no *latifundia* or *zamindari* class before independence, there were wide differences in the society based on land ownership, status, etc. In short, the rural society was far from being homogeneous. These differences and contradictions among the various groups were not taken into consideration in planning the Ujamaa Villagization program.

In the traditional villages in Tanzania, certain activities were organized on a communal basis and there was sharing of what was produced among the members of the group. But this cooperation and sharing was limited only to the close relatives within the extended family. Very often the principle of sharing did not extend beyond the extended

family in the tribal groups. Kaplan (1978) documents that:

> In traditional villages, based on extended family, there was social pressure on each individual to do his share of work. The government planners assumed that the same social pressure would prevail in the Ujamaa Villages, but people failed to perceive these villages as newer versions of the old ones (Kaplan, 1978, p. 170).

Any development program which seeks the cooperation of the people has to be planned with their participation. The Ujamaa program was an idea of a small group of intellectuals of the governing party in Tanzania, a group which does not tend to represent the genuine interests of the peasants and workers. In implementing the program the bureaucracy did not realize the need to get input from the people. Besides, the bureaucrats in Tanzania generally tend to consider the Ujamaa approach, which is expected ultimately to empower people, as detrimental to their own interests. The mode of operation of the bureaucrats also encourages de-participation on the part of the local people. As a result, evidence shows that in the Ujamaa villages there has been little participation in communal ventures and that villages have made little progress.

People's Republic of China. In the People's Republic of China, from the 1950s to about the end of the 1970s, people's participation in rural development seems to have been more successful than in most countries (Stavis, 1977; Aziz, 1978). Under the commune system there was, relatively speaking, a very high level of participation in all aspects of the operation of the communes. Peasants participated (Stavis, 1977) in planning development activities; in implementation,

through extensive involvement in construction projects; in influencing the distribution system and sharing of benefits; and in evaluation, through criticism of officials and helping to check abuses. However, in most cases, how and why the peasants participated depended on the situation and issues involved.

Among the factors that helped to promote popular participation, the commitment to a common political ideology appears to be the overriding factor. Nevertheless, there were several other factors that were involved. In most villages the majority of the peasants belonged to, more or less, the same social class. The realization on the part of the peasants that they need to work together to improve their lot was a motivating factor for participation. In villages where there were disparities between groups/families there were problems in eliciting participation of everyone. In addition, the traditional mutual-aid teams which in most cases consisted of extended families was at the foundation of the commune system. A natural village of 30 to 40 families, consisting of several of these mutual-aid teams, was organized into a production team. The communes were composed of production brigades which in turn consist of production teams. Making use of mutual-aid teams and organizing natural villages as production teams was an attempt to utilize not only the "dynamisms latent in traditional institutions" but also an attempt to make use of extended family relationships for development. This attempt appears to have played a major role in promoting participation in the People's Republic of China. Although a considerable section of the population

seems to have participated in commune activities, questions arise as to whether they participated willingly, whether they were politically motivated or whether they participated because of party pressure through peers and relatives in the village.

## Summary and Conclusion

The current consensus in rural development calls for a strategy focused on people's participation in the development process. This implies the involvement of all groups in a community--local residents, local leaders and government personnel--in all processes of development--decision making, implementation, sharing of benefits and evaluation.

Experience of people's participation in rural development, revealed by the review of literature, shows that there is some correlation between people's participation and increase in agricultural production in certain countries. Participation of the people in development has been very helpful in making local wishes known, generating new ideas, extracting resources, eliciting locally based information, promoting increased involvement in the decision making process, and providing the opportunity to tap local managerial and leadership talents. Above all, the participation of the people provides legitimacy to any project or activity.

The active involvement of the people, though considered as a central ingredient for rural development, is governed by the conditions and the parameters of the context in which it takes place. It

also varies according to the nature of the activity of a rural development project. In most developing countries people's participation in rural development lies on a continuum from a high level of participation to departicipation. This variation depends on the style of development, model of development, planning model at the local level and the level of centralization or decentralization. The reformist and the radical style of development, the politico-transformational model of development, the horizontal planning model at the local level and decentralization are considered to be conducive to participation. Whereas the technocratic style of development, the technico-rational model of development, the vertical planning model at the local level and centralization are considered to promote departicipation.

In reality participation of the people in rural development in Third World countries varies from minimal participation--where officials get a chance to deliver the message, to responsible participation--where people actively involve themselves in the development process. The experience of the Ujamaa program in Tanzania demonstrates that political commitment and family relations (extended family system) have been the major factors promoting participation at the village-level, while the bureaucratic mode of operation has not been considered as a factor promoting participation. In the People's Republic of China, political commitment and sharing of common ideological values are considered to be the major reasons for peasants' participation in the commune system.

The theory of people's participation in rural development and the examples of people's participation in practice offers a wide variety of insights to those who are concerned about the problems and issues of rural development, especially in Third World countries. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, is another example of a people's movement (which has been in existence for the last quarter of a century) which adds many features to this reservoir of human experiences and insights in the field of popular participation in rural development. In the following chapter an attempt has been made to highlight some of the unique and rich experiences that this case study offers to the students of participatory development process throughout the world. Specifically for practitioners and planners of rural development, Sarvodaya offers valuable insights into and lessons about the participatory process, whereby members in a village community come together to identify problems, reflect on various options to development, formulate plans, mobilize resources and implement plans on their own initiative. It also sheds light on the factors that act as constraints to participation, and suggests some opportunities and potentials to make people's participation in rural development more effective.

# C H A P T E R IV

## SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENT: A SRI LANKAN EXPERIENCE IN PARTICIPATORY RURAL DEVELOPMENT

### Introduction

The present search in development circles for "human being-centered" development strategies, which emphasize the active participation of the popular masses in development, grassroots initative, self-reliance, and growth with equity, has received increasing attention. Instead of top-down, piecemeal approaches, attempts are being increasingly focussed on evolving a holistic approach to development,[2] which would respect traditional values and ecological considerations. In the recent past, a few attempts have been made in Third World countries by governmental and non-governmental organizations to orient their development programs along these lines. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka is one such example. It is a private, voluntary organization attempting to develop rural areas in Sri Lanka by following a participatory model of development.

### The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, an island in the Indian Ocean off the southeast coast of peninsula India, is an Asian republic and a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Officially known as the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, it is 25,332 square miles in territory and its

population in mid-1984 was 16,100,000.

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, started in Sri Lanka in 1958, is a voluntary organization which is trying to rediscover the society in Sri Lanka as it existed in its pre-colonial state and to transform it into a new society in keeping with its social milieu and cultural ethos. It can be cited as a rare example of a successful attempt to develop and implement an indigenous approach to rural development with people's participation as one of its major orientations. It is trying to rebuild villages and revitalize appropriate structures to enable villagers to organize themselves for development, which, the organization believes, is no easy task. Sarvodaya believes that

> . . . the compartmentalized development effort made by the government, relying heavily on western models of development and "imported" technology, have not delivered the desired goods in the economic development of post-independent Sri Lanka (Sarvodaya: SS, 1977, p. 61).

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement strongly advocates that the path to this new society "leads from the village up." A major aspect of this struggle to rebuild the society is helping the people to understand that they can make and carry out their own "development plans" to meet their own needs and that they do not need to be mentally and physically dependent on what is handed down to them by distant bureaucrats and politicians. A. T. Ariyaratne, the founder of the Movement, maintains that the most necessary thing for one to do is to help the villagers "to articulate their perhaps incoherent concepts of development, identify the roots of their developmental strategies and motivate them to effect changes through self-help" (Ariyaratne: ISD, 1981, Introduction).

Sarvodaya believes that many strategies in the field of rural development rarely takes into consideration the fact that one can make use of cultural and social foundations that exist in a village. The Movement takes into account the importance of non-economic factors in economic development. The Movement even considers factors such as religious practices and customs associated with agriculture--such as mutual self-help and the exchange of materials--as being essential to rural life. Using all of these elements, the Movement has created a mechanism needed for meaningful popular participation in development. As a result it has been able to play a crucial role in educating and mobilizing the people at the local level to take control of their own development programs and resources.

In this effort to rebuild the society, the Movement believes in the following principles:

1. Development should start from the grassroots level.
2. Mutual self-help and self-reliance should be the basis for development.
3. In order for development programs to be successful, the people's participation is essential at every stage.

The organizers believe that Sarvodaya's path to development is not an ivory tower philosophy but a practical program of rural development to be carried out by the villagers themselves, assisted by Sarvodaya resource workers, skills, facilities and funds, and by making use of government assistance whenever it is available and relevant.

Definition

The literal meaning of the word "savrodaya" is "all or universal awakening" and "Shramadana" means "sharing of labour." However, it has a deeper implicit meaning which involves the

> conscientization of the people who have lost their self-confidence under colonialism and who were forced into the position of law abiding creatures, to realize their potentials, to embark on a program of development through sharing of time, thought and energy (Sarvodaya: SMAG, 1976, p. 1).

In the words of its founder:

> Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement literally means a process of bringing about total awakening of all, by means of pooling together all those human and material resources that individuals and groups are prepared to share of their own free will (Ariyaratne: SD, 1979, p. 1).

History of the Movement

The Movement started very simply about 25 years ago, when a group of students and teachers of a leading secondary school in Sri Lanka organized a work camp in one of the most backward village communities in a remote part of the country. This work camp was organized to provide senior students and teachers from cities with an educational experience concerning the real-life situations of the most depressed communities in the country, and to render whatever community services they could within the limitations of time and resources, for the development of these communities. The idea caught the attention of similar institutions, groups, and individuals, who were readily invited to join. Thus, from this simple beginning, it has grown into

a national movement reaching more than 3,000 villages out of the 24,000 villages in Sri Lanka and affecting, directly or indirectly, the lives of 1 million people out of a population of 16 million.

In the first decade of its activity, Sarvodaya concentrated its efforts on the "awakening" of the participants through Shramadana camps. In the second phase, attention shifted to a broader program of village development known as "Gramodaya" or "total awakening" of the villages. This period of the Movement resulted in the evolution of a clear ideological base, a series of techniques, methods and strategies, and the organizational structures for the realization of its objectives and the implementation of programs.

The third phase (1972-1978) was a period of expansion--the village development scheme expanded from 100 to about 2,300 villages. Initial steps were also taken to inaugurate a "Nagarodaya" or city awakening program. This period is viewed as a steppingstone to a period of "Deshodaya," which will focus on the awakening of the whole nation, which in turn is expected to pave the way for "Vishvodaya"--universal awakening.

## Goals and Objectives

The major goal that Sarvodaya is striving to achieve is to build a "righteous society" in Sri Lanka based on equality, common ownership of the means of production, freedom from exploitation and people's power. As a reaction against the Western development experts and their ready-made models, Kantowsky notes that Sarvodaya

"has introduced its own Buddhist values into the development reasoning since it does not want another copy of a 'confused society'" (Kantowsky, 1980, p. 41). Sarvodaya believes that the first step towards achieving the ultimate goal--"a righteous society"--is to rediscover the indigenous ethos and traditions of pre-colonial Sri Lanka when it was known as "the Island of Righteousness and Granary of the East" (Dharmadvipa Dhanyagara) and to revitalize the Buddhist value pattern which shaped that society.

The Movement believes that the path to the ultimate goal lies in the "total reawakening" of the people, and the Movement has set forth to achieve the following general objectives in this direction.

(a) To awaken masses of rural people in order to exploit their own development potentials through self-help and self-reliance.

(b) To bring about the general recognition of the value of utilizing labour resources, which the people are voluntarily prepared to donate for the development of the nation.

(c) To evolve in the country a grassroots development leadership inspired by the people's traditional cultural values and to gain knowledge through participatory experience in the science of village development.

(d) To pave the way for a development theory and practice in which an integrated approach is made towards the development of the human person, of his or her community, the nation and the world (Ariyaratne: SD, 1979, p. 8 and 9).

## Ideology and Values

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka drew its initial inspiration from the Gandhian Sarvodaya Movement and the Bhoodan

Movement[3] of Achariya Vinoba Bhave in India, yet developed essentially as an indigenous movement, drawing upon the pre-colonial value system. It evolved as an offshoot of the "Protestant Buddhist" (Obeyesekere, 1972, p. 62) Movement[4] in Sri Lanka, which emerged as a protest against the domination of Christianity, its alien value system and the associated political dominance by the Christians during the colonial period. As an indigenous movement, the philosophy of the Sarvodaya has been formulated and developed by a synthesis between Buddhism and pre-colonial Sri Lanka culture.

The "Protestant Buddhist" trend of thought, which is fused with the Sarvodaya philosophy, differs from the "conservative Buddhist" tradition which is represented by the Buddhist establishment in Sri Lanka. "Conservative Buddhism" stresses the other worldy aspect--in a sense, it views Buddhism as a way to a better life in the future births and to the ultimate attainment of Nirvana. After being influenced by the "Conservative Buddhist" trend of thought, Ariyaratne states that during the colonial times, "Western scholars overemphasized the fact that Buddhist doctrine was exclusively for the purpose of renunciation from worldly life and it was primarily an individual approach to enlightenment" (Ariyaratne: HEFT, 1981, p. 81). Sarvodaya perceives Buddhism as being applicable to the everyday lives of laymen and stresses "right livelihood," equality and loving kindness towards all living beings as being foremost in the teaching of Buddhism. Sarvodaya philosophy also differs from popular Buddhism which emphasizes "Karma"[5] as the main force that determines the growth

and development of human beings. Sarvodaya views the karmic hereditary factor as being only one of the factors that may influence problems facing human beings--poverty, disease and ignorance--the other factors being the "biological hereditary factor, . . . the environmental factor and the mind factor (self mastering)" (Ariyaratne, CW: 1979, p. 138). Sarvodaya emphasizes that except for the biological hereditary factor, the other factors can be changed by individual and group efforts through "right understanding" and actions in proper directions. According to Sarvodaya, education is one of the primary means that can help to bring these factors under control.

Theravada Buddhism, the original spring from which Sarvodaya derives its image of development, preaches a "middle path" "between the glorification of poverty and the adulation of wealth, between the rationalization of privilege and the absolute condemnation of all the inequalities in wealth influence and power" (Goulet, 1981, p. 86). "Craving" (*tanha*), Buddha said, was the root cause of suffering. Believing in this theory, Sarvodaya rejects the Western concept of "dynamism of desire which is the motor force of Western aspiration after development" (Goulet, 1981, p. 86). The Sarvodaya, Goulet notes,

> . . . avoids falling into the pit of romanticizing austerity and a fortiori of condoning poverty, while nonetheless offering a philosophical and psychological base for choosing to "have enough" in order to be more instead of perpetually craving "to have more" with the end result that one becomes less human than before (Goulet, 1981, p. 86).

It is this trend of thought that has led to the emergence of the

major concepts of Sarvodaya--basic needs orientation, sharing, mutual self-help, social justice, etc.

The values of Sarvodaya are rooted in the Buddhist teaching which stresses the value of the human being and of human dignity. Based on this, Sarvodaya strives to "harness the goodness of all for the well being of all." The four cornerstones of the Sarvodaya philosophy are the Buddhist principles of respect for all life - *Mettā*, compassionate action - *Karunā*, dispassionate joy - *Muditha*, and equanimity - *Upekkhā*. The Movement points out that in the traditional Sri Lankan society, there were four cardinal principles of social conduct inspired by Buddhism, which the Movement has reviewed and put into action along with the above-mentioned principles. They are sharing (*Dana*), pleasant speech (*Priya vachana*), constructive activity (*Arthacharya*), and equality (*Samanathmatha*).

Sarvodaya Movement points out that there is no dichotomy between ends and means in the Movement. The ends and means merge together. To quote from the founder of the Movement,

> If the roads we constructed were to be washed away by floods or by a dissatisfied minister of State, still the benefits we accrued in the process of building it together that enriched our personalities remain with us. It teaches us the noble principle of cultivating equanimity. Not to be daunted by failure but being rich with experience to strive again. This helps us to sustain our determination to start all over again (Ariyaratne: STA, 1979, p. 9).

The Movement places emphasis on the spiritual, moral and cultural awakening of individuals and communities through raising their level of consciousness as a prerequisite to economic development.

It stands for non-violence as opposed to class war and for people's participation in development. The Movement is opposed to large complex institutions with bureaucratic hierarchical structures alienated from the people, and, believing in the concept of "small is beautiful," advocates small-scale grassroots organizations which the people can control. Sarvodaya, as a movement, is aloof from party politics but cooperates with democratically elected governments. It believes in partyless democracy and in people being able to control their own destiny, and aims to transfer power from elite groups to the people. How the Sarvodaya operates in the political context of Sri Lanka will be discussed later in this chapter under the section titled Sarvodaya and the Political/Social Context of Sri Lanka.

## Influences and Parallels in the West

Though Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka developed as an indigenous movement, Kantowsky points out that it has many influences from western philosophies and similar movements which emerged in western countries. The roots of the Sarvodaya concept in both Sri Lanka and India can be traced back to the populist Narodniki Movement of Russia in the 1860s, in which groups of young intellectuals from cities dressed in peasants' clothes went to rural areas ("back to the people") "to spread the ideas of a new socialist order and agrarian communism" (Kantowsky, 1980, p. 192). Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka had a similar beginning with teachers and students from city-based schools going to a remote village. The works that had an immediate impact on Gandhi,

the founder of the Sarvodaya Movement in India, was John Ruskin's Unto This Last and the writings of Leo Tolstoy, through whom Gandhi discovered the message of Russian populism. The populist thought and the value system associated with it are widely shared by Sarvodaya Movements both in India and in Sri Lanka.

Sarvodaya has many parallels with the "Another Development" strategy (though not directly influenced by it) formulated in 1975, by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation in Sweden--a strategy which claims to be "need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound and based on structural transformation" (Nerfin, 1977, p. 10). There are also parallels with the "Voluntary Simplicity" (Elgin, 1977) Movement in the U.S.A., which emphasizes simple living, self-determination and less dependence on large complex institutions, ecological awareness, personal growth and improvement of human and social relationships and the quality of American life.

## Holistic Approach to Development

After nearly two and a half decades of work among rural people, especially the most underprivileged, Sarvodaya has been able to involve villagers as direct participants in the struggle for social change and development. The valuable experience and insights gained through this effort has enabled the Movement to develop a rational theory and practice of development. In evolving this theory and practice the Movement's main task was to assess and analyze objectively the problems facing the country. This was based on the assumption that a clear

conceptual understanding of the society/environment is necessary before proceeding to bring about any changes.

Sri Lanka is basically a rural country, with eighty percent of the population living in rural areas. Rural villages, numbering about 23,000 today, were self-sufficient economic entities before the arrival of the westerners. The westerners changed the basic economic structure of the Sri Lankan villages to suit their needs. Sarvodaya believes that four and a half centuries of colonial rule have left the villages in a state of decadence and that villages have been caught in a vicious circle of poverty, disease, ignorance, oppression, disunity and stagnation. Rural people have lost their confidence and are not able to realize their full potentials. The philosophy of Sarvodaya has evolved with the sole purpose of replacing this situation "with a constructive cycle of rediscovered central thought to unite them, spiritual and cultural values to revitalize them and appropriate structures to organize them for self-determination and development" (Ariyaratne: CMAS, 1978, p. 8). This constructive cycle of rediscovered central thought, which is fused with the Movement's concept of "awakened society" and of "total development," encompasses the principles of "egolessness, equality, constructive activity, pleasant speech, love, cooperation and sharing" (S.S.M.G.: 1976, p. 5). The development approach based on these principles "has the human being at its center along with the psycho-social and ecological milieu in which he is living" (Ariyaratne: ISD, 1981, p. 32).

The Sarvodaya development theory rejects the Western paradigm of growth-centered development and the material greed and high energy consuming technology associated with it. It also rejects economic theories based on "a fragmentary view of the so-called classical factors of production which the Western economists named land, labor, capital and entrepreneurship" and "theories of employment divorced from what (Buddhists) traditionally accept as right livelihood" (Ariyaratne: N.T.E., 1981, p. 3). The "hopes lie," Ariyaratne explains,

> in working out a development program based on the real needs of our people that could be satisfied with our own available natural resources including a science and technology which is our own and appropriate to our own realities. This cannot be realized unless . . . we revert back to our broader world outlook based on our own factors of progress, namely Nature, the total Human Personality, Social Capital and Knowledge (Ariyaratne: N.T.E., 1981, p. 5).

Development, Ariyaratne stresses, is viewed by the Sarvodaya not purely in terms of material standards, but

> as a total awakening process contributing to total happiness. This definition goes beyond those that confine themselves to measuring development by gross national products, growth rates, per capita incomes, or even the latest measure developed by the Overseas Development Council in Washington termed the Physical Quality of Life Index (Ariyaratne: ISD, 1981, p. 32).

Ariyaratne further notes that it is a holistic concept of development with several dimensions--spiritual, cultural, economic, educational and organizational development, goal oriented action and psychological oneness--interacting with one another. "Development," explains Ariyaratne, "is the progressive ascent of man in all its dimensions" (Ariyaratne: C.W., 1979, p. 118).

The Movement views the poverty syndrome, ignorance, and other manifestations of underdevelopment not as things that affect people as individuals, but as a phenomenon that permeates the entire family and the community. "Development" Ariyaratne documents, "has to be effected both by the development of the individual as well as the group. . . . One cannot be conceived without the other" (Ariyaratne: ISD, 1981, Intro., p. 2). Moreover, problems cannot be solved by the people in the community on their own unless they change the entire environment--not only the social environment, but also the political, bureaucratic and economic environment in which they live. "Development as understood by the common man," Ariyaratne elaborates, "is an integrated process of total change that is taking place within individuals, families, groups, rural and urban communities and the world, bringing about socio-economic and spiritual-cultural progress in one and all" (Ariyaratne: CMAS, 1978, p. 4 and 5).

The Sarvodaya development theory is based on two basic assumptions: that development should start from below; and that it should essentially be an effort of the people. The Movement considers that the village should be the basic "viable unit" on which development should be based, and that "village self-government" should be the central thought in rural development. The Movement, through its rich experience of social action in villages, has learned the lesson that villagers possess a wealth of knowledge and experience and wish to follow a path of development of their own.

Godfrey Gunatilaka, commenting on the Sarvodaya strategy in his introduction to Goulet's "Survival With Integrity: Sarvodaya at Crossroads," 1981, has advanced the thesis that the

> . . . concept of "awakened society," of "total development," is arresting modern and contemporary. It anticipates the concepts of "another development" which grew out of the disillusionment with conventional models of development which had given the central place to economic growth and technological advancement. The Sarvodaya concept of sharing and community, the priority given to the fulfillment of primary human needs, the supreme importance of decision-making from below, the non-aggressive orientation to the environment and the reverence for life, all help to create a new configuration of development (Goulet, 1981, p. ix).

Denis Goulet sees the Sarvodaya development strategy as "a non-elite alternative development strategy which now faces new challenges after successfully consolidating itself at macro-levels of organization and performance" (Goulet, 1981, p. 50). He further raises the question whether "a development approach which rejects eliticism, urban biases and the assumptions of modern economics can survive with integrity once it enters into interaction with macro-policy arenas" (Goulet, 1981, p. 77).

## Major Orientations of the Development Strategy

The Sarvodaya's alternative strategy of development encompasses a number of key orientations which need to be highlighted. This strategy focuses on satisfying basic human needs of the people, self-reliance, self-help, the people's participation in the process of development, grass-roots initiative, and bottom-up approach to development.

Basic Needs

The "basic needs" orientation is one of the key elements of the Sarvodaya development strategy. Needs orientation is perceived as an approach that is

> . . . geared to meeting human needs both material and non-material. It begins with the satisfaction of the basic needs of those, dominated and exploited, who constitute the majority of world inhabitants, and ensure at the same time the humanization of all human beings by the satisfaction of their needs for expression, creativity, equality, and conviviality to understand and master their own destiny (Nerfin, 1977, p. 10).

In less-developed countries in Asia and Africa, the majority of the people lack primary basic necessities, while a microscopic minority enjoy all the material comforts available. In such a situation the Sarvodaya believes that the first step towards development lies in the identification of the basic needs of man and the ways of satisfying them, followed by a process of conscientization and self-reliant development. The basic needs approach of the Sarvodaya, Kantowsky believes, is "an attempt to identify the development targets in the village more clearly and to make Sarvodaya work more specific" (Kantowsky, 1980, p. 60).

Ten basic needs. With the participation of 660 people in Sarvodaya, the Movement has identified the ten basic needs in the villages that need to be given priority in working towards the amelioration of conditions in rural areas. These are as follows:

1. A clean and beautiful environment.
2. A clean and adequate supply of water.
3. A minimum clothing requirement.

4. A balanced diet.
5. Basic health care.
6. A modest house to live in.
7. Energy requirements.
8. Basic communication facilities.
9. Total education.
10. Spiritual and cultural requirements. (Ariyaratne: ISD, 1981, p. 12 and 13)

These ten basic needs have been operationalized and subdivided into 167 categories. Ariyaratne, in his foreword to the manuscript entitled Ten Basic Needs and Their Satisfaction, explains that the "analysis of basic human needs has been based on the status of the weakest population groups in the society and with the objective of improving their level of living" (Ariyaratne: TBN, 1978, Foreword).

From Village Level Up

"Development from below or from the grass-root up" is one of the major orientations of the Sarvodaya Movement which is fused with the other major elements of the development strategy--need orientation, self-reliance and popular participation. Development from below is defined as "development based primarily on the maximum mobilization of each area's natural, human, and institutional resources, with the primary objective being the satisfaction of basic human needs of the inhabitants of that area" (Stöhr, 1981, p. 1). The major foci of development policies, Walter B. Stöhr stresses,

should be the poor or the disadvantaged and be "directly oriented towards the problem of poverty and must be motivated and initially controlled from the bottom." He further notes that there is an inherent distrust of "the trickle down" or "spread effect" expectations of the past development policies. Development "from below" strategies are basic needs oriented, labor intensive, small-scale regional resource based, often rural centered and argue for the use of "appropriate rather than highest technology" (p. 1 and 2).

Sarvodaya Movement was one of the first pioneer development organizations in the Third World to reject the "top down" approach and to work on the assumption that development should have its beginnings in the village and proceed from there to the national level. This concept emanates from the belief that the path to a new society and a life based on the Sarvodaya philosophy begins with the awakening of the individuals, families and communities to their own potentials. Experience in Sri Lanka has shown that vertical power structures, which collect and deposit power at the top, encourage de-participation and apathy on the part of the people at the receiving end. Sarvodaya believes that "monolithic and unjustifiable power structures should be replaced by horizontal power structures where people share power and utilize for the well-being of all" (Ratnapala: C.W., p. 19).

The Sarvodaya concept of bottom-up development is fused with the belief that small-scale grass-root organizations which the people can control and technologies appropriate to the ecological, social and

cultural environment are suitable to the development of Sri Lanka. This does not mean that discoveries of modern science and modern technologies will be ignored. Ariyaratne explicitly stresses that "even the most sophisticated technological devices will be welcome by the rural communities provided they can control it, but not be enslaved by it" (Ariyaratne: C.W., p. 85).

## Self-Help

The concept of self-help, which is a part and parcel of the concept of Shramadana, implies aiding one another in the community without depending on the help of outsiders. This idea is rooted in most religious philosophies in both the West and the East. Sharing and self-help is an inherent characteristic among the rural people in particular. This is very necessary for their survival, since it is necessary to defend themselves against exploitative elements in the society. However, with the emergence of capitalism and the emphasis on individualism, the concept of self-help has receded into the background in most rural societies.

In Sri Lanka, self-help has been part and parcel of the way of life of rural communities. The Sarvodaya Movement, in its attempt to revitalize the concept of self-help, directs its efforts mainly in two directions. First, it tries to examine the constraints that inhibit the expression of group effort and self-help qualities in rural communities. Second, it tries to figure out how rural communities can be helped to remove these constraints. The answer to these

questions lies in the process of development followed at the village level by the Movement (which will be discussed later in this study).

## Self Reliance

Sources on the Sarvodaya Movement show that one of the major pervasive concepts emphasized by the Movement throughout its history has been self-reliance. This is evident from all the concepts that Sarvodaya has evolved and the activities which it has undertaken.

There is no universally accepted definition of self-reliance, but the concept has many dimensions and there are numerous types and degrees of self-reliance which range across a wide spectrum. Self-reliance in man-power, resources, capital, technology and expertise are some of the major dimensions encompassed in this concept. Dudley Seers, in his paper "The Meaning of Development" (1977), maintains that

> . . . we do not yet understand much about what self-reliance implies for development strategies, but some of the economic aspects are obvious enough. They include reducing dependence on imported necessities, especially basic foods, petroleum and its products, capital equipment and expertise . . . (Seers, 1977, pp. 5-6).

"Independence and interdependence," says Galtung (1981), "are the two major facets of self-reliance. Independence is autonomy, that invaluable combination of self-confidence, a high level of self-sufficiency and fearlessness out of which invulnerability is forged. Interdependence is equity, which means a style of cooperation that does not engender new patterns of dependence" (Galtung, 1981, pp. 173-

174). Galtung further elaborates that there would be several levels of self-reliance--"local, national and regional with the individual level underlying it all" (Galtung, 1981, p. 191). At the local level, self-reliance implies that the local community is in command of its own local resources, that the local community has the decision making power over the entire economic cycle, and that the creativity and initiative of the people is encouraged without imposing ready-made decisions from above. In the case of Sarvodaya "the principle of self-reliant development for communities," Ratnapala documents, "is an extension of one's personal obligation to strive for self-fulfillment and take responsibility for his spiritual and material well-being. The aim of promoting self-reliance obviously requires a decentralized planning and management approach" (Ratnapala, 1981, p. 471). The Movement believes that there is no alternative for economically poor communities of the world other than to strive for self-reliant development as quickly as possible.

The Sarvodaya's struggle to achieve development based on self-reliance is intertwined with its strategy of "development from below." Self-reliant development at the village level is viewed as the first step towards national and regional self-reliance. Galtung asserts that the political process involved in self-reliance "can be described in terms of five components: consciousness-formation, mobilization, confrontation, struggle proper and transcendence" (Galtung, 1981, p. 176). The Sarvodaya activities during the last two decades have been mainly focused on education, consciousness

raising and mobilization of people at the village level, mainly through the Shramadana camp process. Through this process, an attempt is made to inculcate the self-confidence needed in villagers in order to carve their own path of development.

The strategy of self-reliant development is not without opposition. In Sri Lanka there has always been opposition from the bureaucratic elite, local elites with vested interests and with patron-client relationships in the villages, money lenders and merchants, and politicians who represent the above interests. As the movement for self-reliance gathers momentum, the opposition may inevitably become acute, joined by other groups who would like the country to maintain its present position as a dependent capitalist state. The Sarvodaya Movement will then have to face the challenge of these groups, in which case the Movement will have to reconsider its values and its position based on harmony and non-confrontation.

## People's Participation

Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, being concerned with human dignity and human value, believes in popular participation to be the central theme of all aspects of development. Its goals of transforming villages into independent and self-sufficient units necessitates that villagers should control and shape their own destiny. In order to do this, villagers should realize their own significance and strength. This realization could only be achieved by popular participation in all matters that pertain to the village or community in

which they live. "People's participation," Ariyaratne concludes, "is the foundation on which the Movement originated in the past, and this factor will also determine the success or failure of the Movement in the years to come" (Ariyaratne: P.M.S.R., 1977, p. 1).

Rationale for Popular Participation

Development efforts in post-independent Sri Lanka have been for the most part elitist exercises,

> . . . decisions made by the bureaucratic elites being imposed on the common people in the village without any consideration about their actual needs. Because of this, the social cost that the Sri Lankan society had to pay in terms of political and communal violence, moral degeneration, economic stagnation and increased poverty was very heavy (Ariyaratne: CMAS, 1978, p. 4).

This situation has pushed the common people to the state of dependency based on parton-client relationships between bureaucrats and themselves. The mode of bureaucratic operation itself discourages participation on the part of the people. Ariyaratne points out that the

> . . . common people are those who are at the receiving end of grand plans from bureaucrats and policy makers . . . They have no control at all over the ideas, technologies, strategies, and structures that are imposed upon them from outside. To make things worse they are also made morally and legally accountable to themselves for whatever is imposed upon them through a representative democracy which in itself has become a mechanical process mostly devoid of human values (Ariyaratne: CMAS, 1978, p. 3).

Ariyaratne further states that

> . . . common people prefer personal relationships, intimate, shared experiences, a direct cultural and spiritual life, small, house-hold economic arrangements, and participatory democracy and community politics."

He adds that

> . . . it is the privileged, the so-called intellectuals or the elite, who should take the initiative to reach the common man, not to control him but to liberate him, not to manipulate him but to make him participate as an equal, in defining goals, setting targets, and implementing plans (Ariyaratne: CMAS, 1978, p. 4).

Sarvodaya believes that so far no attempt has been made to discover a common language to both. Besides this, the western model of development, which the elite has chosen to follow, does not allow for participation on the part of the popular masses. Conditions conducive to a participatory process of development cannot be "artificially created away from the people . . . Plans should originate from the people themselves. Then only they can prevent the development of technocracies and bureaucracies (Ariyaratne: ISD, 1981, p. 37). The Sarvodaya process of development, an integrated process of total change that is intended to take place within individuals, families, groups, and rural and urban communities, considers popular participation to be an indispensible element of the development process.

The Sarvodaya's approach to transforming the individual and, through the individual, the family and the village, is a very practical and integrated application of Sarvodaya thought, which can in turn be used to solve the numerous inter-related and interdependent social, political, economic and moral ills and injustices. Therefore, the Sarvodaya approach is to solicit the active participation of every child, youth, mother, farmer and others in the Movement. Through their direct participation in organized groups, the Movement

makes an attempt to do the following:

1. bring about a change in their ideas, attitudes and objectives, according to the Sarvodaya philosophy.

2. bring about improvements in the methods and techniques adopted by the people in their day-to-day life, especially in economic production, distribution and consumption.

3. bring about change in their existing organizations and institutions for the better (Ariyaratne: CW, 1979, p. 68).

## Sarvodaya Process: People's Participation and Village Awakening

A process, as meant here, is a series of steps, stages or activities through which an individual or community is expected to pass in order to achieve a desired goal. In community/rural development, the responsibility for the process generally rests upon the facilitator or the nucleus group that takes the initiative. Regardless of whoever takes the initiative, the involvement of the people in the locality to be served is considered to be of the utmost importance.

One of the outstanding features in the Sarvodaya Movement, which is attracting the attention of development workers throughout the world, is the participatory process followed by the Movement, which involves the people at the grassroots level. This process, which had its beginnings with the inauguration of the "100 village development scheme" in 1968, has since then been refined and developed, and is continuously undergoing changes. In the Sarvodaya Movement the responsibility for the process in the villages at the initial

stages is taken by the Sarvodaya representative and the village-level leaders who invite Sarvodaya intervention. As the activities in the village gather momentum, the responsibility is gradually transferred to a nucleus group in the village, and the Sarvodaya representative recedes into the background.

The Sarvodaya process of popular participation in rural development proceeds from the following principles:

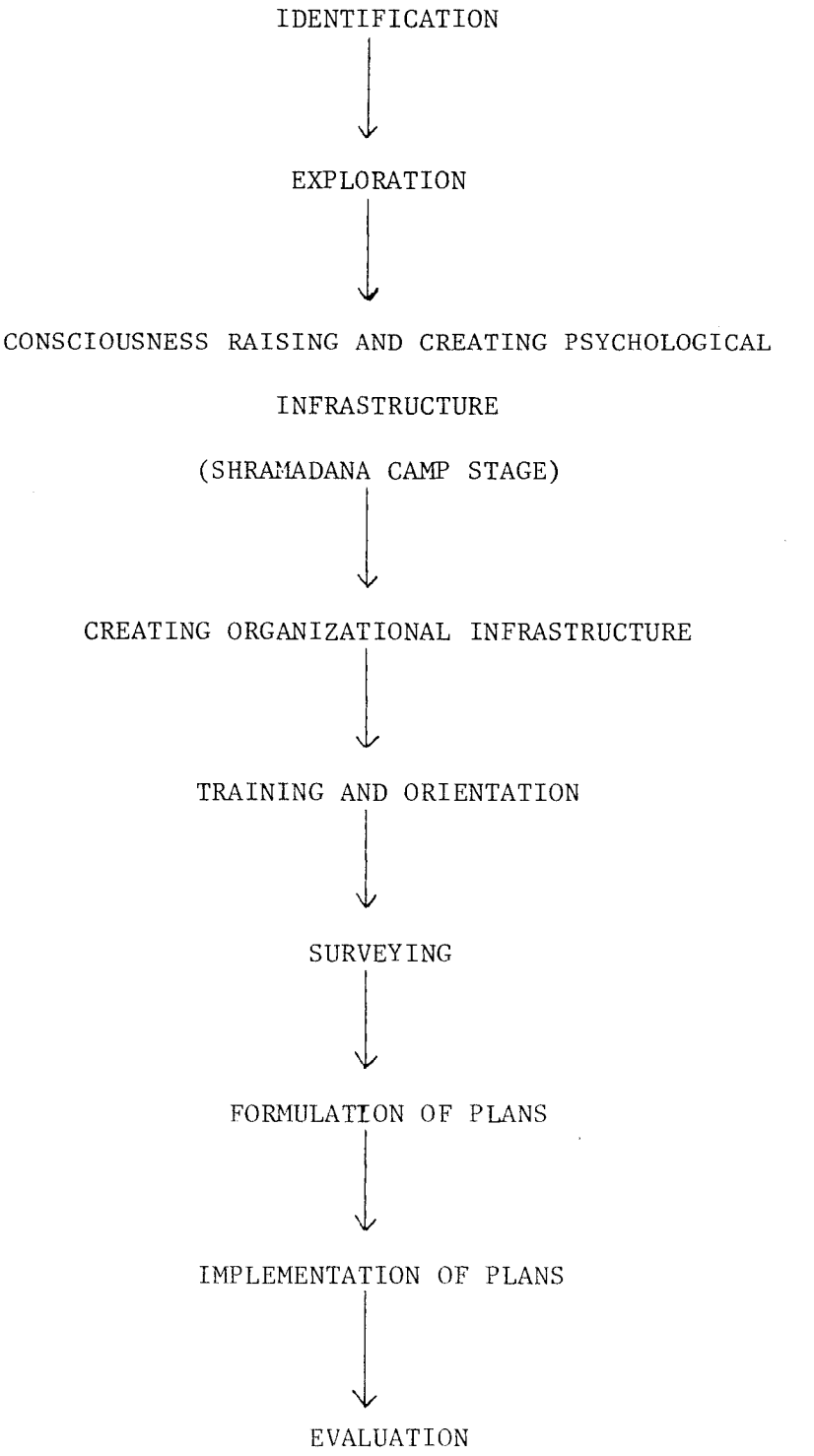
> . . . all human and material resources available in the village should be utilized to meet the needs of the people in the village; development plans in the village should be drawn up, implemented and evaluated with the fullest participation of the people of the village (Ariyaratne: CMAS, 1978, p. 7).

The process followed by the Sarvodaya in village awakening is flexible in nature. There are no hard and fast rules regarding the sequential order of the stages to be followed and they can be adjusted to suit the circumstances. However, the major stages could be listed in the order shown on page 98.

## Identification and Exploration

The process starts with identifying and demarcating a village or a group of villages consisting of about 100-150 families. This may often result as a response to a village seeking to join the Sarvodaya village development scheme. The identification of villages for development is guided by the principle of "*Anthodaya*"--"giving priority to villages that are least developed and most oppressed, most socially and economically backward, therefore deserving special

The Major Sequential Stages of the Sarvodaya Process



attention (EWP, 1976, p. 9). Once a village is identified for development, a questionnaire is circulated to ascertain basic data on the village. This is followed by a Sarvodaya representative's visit to the village to attend a community meeting of the villagers.

The purpose of this initial meeting is to discuss the problems in the village and to explain to the villagers the Sarvodaya interpretation of the causes of poverty, stagnation and the problems facing the village, and the way out of the problems. This initial contact, which is very informal in nature, is normally between the Sarvodaya field-workers and the village leadership--the traditional or the new emerging leadership, as the case may be. At this meeting, an attempt is made to identify the felt needs of the village. The discussion is normally focused on the idea of Shramadana and a widely shared village problem that can be solved by a quick injection of physical labour. A labour-intensive project--constructing a road, repairing a reservoir bund, etc., which will bring about immediate and tangible results, is decided upon for the purpose of organizing a Shramadana Camp (if the village accepts the Sarvodaya philosophy and decides to join the Movement).

## Consciousness Raising and Creating Psychological Infrastructure: Shramadana Camp Stage

Organizing Shramadana Camps in the villages is the major strategy used by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement to raise the consciousness of the people, to create the psychological infrastructure for

development and to ignite villager participation in development activities. In the Sarvodaya village development program, the process of participation of the villagers in their own development effort begins with a series of Shramadana Camps. A Shramadana Camp is defined as a "place at which men and women live and work together for a certain period of time" (EWP, 1979, p. 9). The explicit objectives of the Shramadana Camp are as follows:

> (a) to experience traditional social living based on the principles of sharing, pleasant speech, constructive activity and equality.
>
> (b) to share their labour in completing a physical task that signifies a long-felt need of the community (EWP, 1976, p. 13).

A Shramadana Camp needs much preparation, including the organization of the village community for the Camp, the selection of a site, the collection of food, and the provision of accommodation. These responsibilities are shared by the volunteers from the village and the Sarvodaya workers. They work together to set up facilities to accommodate large numbers of "external" Sarvodaya volunteers (who have been trained by the Movement) who participate while staying in residence at the camp. These camps are generally organized during weekends and vacations to guarantee the highest level of participation.

A camp is normally inaugurated in the evening with the traditional ceremonies and is followed by a meeting of the villagers--the "family gathering." As the program proceeds, the voluntary work (six to eight hours of labour each day) on the project is interspersed with the "family gathering." The "sharing of labour" compo-

nent of the Shramadana Camp, created to satisfy a long-felt need in the community, is considered only as a means to an end. It is not an end in itself. "We build the road and the road builds us" is the guiding principle. It is a part of a broader cultural revitalization program to revive the mutual, labour-sharing cooperative way of life which was a part of the pre-colonial Sri Lankan culture.

The "family gathering" provides the opportunity for all the people gathered together to consider themselves as members of one family and, in that spirit, to discuss the problems. In these meetings villagers are encouraged to put forward their ideas. History, culture, and Sarvodaya philosophy are discussed. Problems in the village are raised and plans to solve them are reviewed. Songs, dances and other cultural activities are intermingled with these discussions. The "family gathering" component of the Sharmadana camp enables the villagers to initiate a process of raising their consciousness. It provides a learning opportunity to perceive social, political and economic contradictions in the problems facing the village and paves the path for taking appropriate actions to improve their conditions. It also provides an opportunity for the people to reflect, plan and work together and to evaluate their efforts.

The Sarvodaya Movement seeks the following results from the Shramadana Camp technique: the creation of the necessary awareness and community spirit, the creation of a sense of unity and harmony in the village, the preparation of the "psychological infrastructure" for development through mutual self-help and cooperation. "In essence,"

says Nat Colletta (1979), who has observed the Sarvodaya Camp process, "it concretely illustrates that the solutions to their (villagers') problems may lie in their own hands." "It functions," he adds, "to mobilize villagers around a common problem and demonstrate to them the power to solve problems through group effort with limited resources" (Colletta, 1979, p. 16). Lin Compton (1979), commenting on the Shramadana Camp process, points out that "three benefits are perceived from this experience: the village leadership emerges, community spirit is buoyed and government extension service may be linked during the camp (Compton, 1979, p. 75). On the whole, it is a revolutionary technique to awaken people to realize their own potentials based on their own culture and innovative abilities.

## Organizational Infrastructure

No development program based on people's participation can be successfully implemented without the total mobilization of the village and a sound organization of the community. In the process of Shramadana Camp and the follow-up activities, many changes begin to take place in the village. Among them are the development of new peer-group relationships and the emergence of a new leadership. The Movement facilitates these developments by encouraging villagers to form groups based on age and interest, such as a Mothers' group, a Youth group, a Children's group and a Farmers' group. Linking all these groups and consisting of representatives from each of these functional groups, an umbrella organization--Gramodaya Mandalaya

(Village Reawakening Council)--is formed to coordinate the activities of all the groups. "These organizations are the new structural basis for the village to develop in a sustained fashion" (Colletta, 1979, p. 17).

Training and Orientation

When Sarvodaya activities are underway in the village, needs for training the people for various organizational tasks as well as for specialized fields become apparent in the village. Attempts are made to motivate the people to identify the kind of training--formal or informal--that they desire. Steps are taken to provide the needed training, whether in leadership or in technical or functional work, either in the village itself or in one of the institutions outside the village.

Surveying

One of the follow-up actions after a Shramadana Camp in a village is to conduct a general survey of the village. A house-to-house survey is conducted by trained male and female volunteers from both the village and the Movement. The purpose is to collect base-line data on the village in order to understand the problems and for decision-making and planning for action. In the survey, special attention is given to ascertain data, mainly about available natural and human resources, the health conditions of the people, and the level of indebtedness in the village.

Formulation of Plans

The facts disclosed by the survey are discussed and analyzed at a meeting of the Gramodaya Mandalaya or the Youth Group. Based on the facts of the survey, short-term and long-term plans are drawn up by the villagers themselves, assisted by the Sarvodaya volunteers. The short-term plan includes activities that can be carried out within a definite period of time, employing manpower, know-how and organizational structures available in the village itself. The long-term plan consists of activities connected with more complex problems whose solutions lie beyond the means of the village.

Implementation of Plans

The implementation of plans is undertaken by various functional groups in the village with the cooperation of Sarvodaya volunteers from outside. The officers of the local and also central government institutions sometimes assist in these implementation activities. The components of the short-term plan focus on two aspects of village development. The first involves the creation of an infrastructure necessary for development--the building of roads, foot paths, schools, the repairing of reservoir bunds and irrigation channels. The second involves taking immediate steps which help to overcome the constraints on development, steps which often include the following:

- The formulation of debt reconciliation groups to assist those in debt and to prevent others falling into debt.
- The promotion of a "seed bank" and a "community bank" in the village and a village "common market" for the purchase of requirements and sale of produce.

- The organization of a vigilance committee, particularly for health and personal care.

- The education of the population to accept, join and utilize intelligently various government services, such as cooperative production centers, credit facilities and Divisional Development Councils (Ariyaratne, PMSR, 1977, p. 8 and 9).

In the long-term development plan attempts are made to integrate the operations originating at the grass-roots into those of the central, regional and local governments. The long-term plan is directed towards meeting the basic needs of the people in the village with the aim of reaching a self-development stage. The activities undertaken by the Movement in this direction in the past two decades were focused mainly on the following:

1. overcoming nutritional deficiencies;
2. providing education to pre-school children;
3. improving general health conditions;
4. organizing income-generating activities;
5. providing credit facilities.

The activities commonly organized to achieve the above objectives include the following:

- Community Kitchens to provide balanced meals for needy mothers and children, combined with education in nutrition.

- Pre-Schools to provide education for children under six years of age.

- Collective farms and cottage industries to provide income generation.

- Skills training programs for unemployed youth.

- Revolving-Fund to provide loans to villagers who have no access to credit facilities, to start income-generating activities.

## Evaluation

Evaluation plays an important part in the activities of the Sarvodaya Movement. As a Movement dedicated to the principle of "learning from the people," it formulates, develops, and refines its theory and practice as experience increases by working with the people. Sarvodaya considers the participation of villagers in the research and evaluation process to be an important ingredient in the science of village development. To achieve these objectives, the Sarvodaya has established a research center to conduct formative and summative evaluations, pre-program surveys, and applied and experimental research on projects and all other activities of the Movement. Feedback from the research and evaluation activities is considered in redefining policies, strategies and plans.

## Parallels with the Community Development Processes in the West

The process followed by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in the villages has many similarities with the process of the community development movement that emerged in the West. Biddle and Biddle's study in 1965 documents a process as outlined below:

EXPLORATION
↓
ORGANIZATION
↓
DISCUSSION
↓
ACTION
↓
NEW PROJECTS
↓
CONTINUATION

Figure 2

(Biddle & Biddle, 1965, pp. 90-91)

Another Western writer on community development--Wiledon (1970), observes eight sequential stages in the process:

MOTIVATION
↓
GATHERING AND UNDERSTANDING OF FACTS
↓
GROUP DECISION MAKING
↓
FORMULATION OF PLANS
↓
AGREEMENT ON SUITABLE ORGANIZATION
↓
SELECTING AND TRAINING COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP
↓
ACTING ON GOALS
↓
EVALUATION

Figure 3

(Wilden, 1970, pp. 78-276)

It is clear that the community development process, outlined by the above writers, and the process of the Sarvodaya Movement, despite differences in the arrangement of sequences and the context in

which it operates, are similar in many ways. However, the main features that distinguish the Sarvodaya process could be diagnosed as follows:

1. The consciousness raising strategy of the Sarvodaya Movement--the Shramadana Camp.
2. The attempt to mobilize the village through informal group formation based on age, interests and occupations.
3. The infusion of cultural elements--traditional songs, dances, etc., into the process.

Specifically, the Shramadana Camp technique is one of the outstanding contributions of the Sarvodaya Movement.

## Sarvodaya in Action

How does the participatory rural development process of the Sarvodaya operate in actual practice? Who participates, how and why? These are some of the important issues that may be raised when discussing the Sarvodaya process. It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss all these issues at length. However, an attempt will be made to briefly touch upon some of the basic ones.

The Annual Service Report of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya 1980-81 (ASR, 1981), in discussing the progress made by the Movement, documents that the Sarvodaya activities in the past two decades have spread to 3,272 villages (ASR, 1981, p. 42) out of a total of 24,000 villages in Sri Lanka. One hundred and fifty-eight "Gramodaya Centers" (ASR, 1981, p. 42) have been established to coordinate these village-level activities. Sarvodaya activities directly related to

village development are mainly focused on organizing Shramadana Camps, creating an organizational infrastructure--Youth Groups, Mothers' Groups, Farmers' Groups, etc., and "village reawakening" councils, establishing community kitchens, pre-schools and libraries, and establishing industrial projects and farms.

The extent of the involvement of the Movement in these activities seems to lie on a continuum, from involvement in many of the above activities to rudimentary involvement. The organization of Shramadana Camps, which triggers all other development activities, seems to be the main activity in the villages in which the Movement has involved itself actively. Between 1958 and 1981 the Movement organized 3,473 Shramadana Camps in 3,281 villages (ASR, 1981, p. 52). Out of these, 59.4% were one-day camps with less than 50 participants. Camps of more than three days' duration and with more than 100 participants accounted for only 1.4% of all the camps (ASR, 1981, p. 53).

Out of the 3,272 villages to which the Sarvodaya activities have spread, only 360 villages (ASR, 1981, p. 64) have reached the "gramodaya" stage. In a gramodaya village (a village which has reached the gramodaya stage), an organization" capable of speaking for the village with a capacity to manage their own affairs" (ASR, 1981, p. 64) has been established along with one or more projects--a community kitchen, pre-schools, etc. The Annual Service Report (1980-81) claims that "pre-schools have been established in approximately 80% of the villages in which the Sangamaya is working" (ASR, 1981, p. 43, 44). Libraries have been established in about 10% of the villages (ASR,

1981, p. 61). The figures for the other activities are not available in the Annual Service Report (1980-81). However, Kantowsky (1980), states that there were 487 community kitchens, 353 Children's Groups, 340 Mothers' Groups, 293 Youth Groups, 65 Farmers' Groups, 17 industrial projects (with 104 employees), and 26 farms with 154 workers functioning in the villages at the end of 1977 (Kantowsky, 1980, p. 136, 137, 140).

Though the Sarvodaya has not been able to achieve a breakthrough in the field of solving the major problems affecting rural villages--poverty, disease, hunger, unemployment and economic stagnation--it has many other achievements to its credit. Due to the very minor emphasis given to agriculture and other economic activities, Kantowsky states that "the program has succeeded least in the economic sphere, but as far as social, educational, health or cultural fields are concerned, the program is fairly strong" (Kantowsky, 1980, p. 138). In the villages that the Sarvodaya has been involved in, the community infrastructure such as roads, wells, latrines, community buildings has improved; the cultural and recreational life has brightened; and useful services such as pre-school centers and community kitchens have been established. Improvements have also been made in the field of health and nutrition.

Attempts have been made to bring the so-called lowest castes in the community into the mainstream of society and to reduce the harshness of the caste prejudices. The Movement has created an awareness among the people about the aid and assistance that can be obtained

from the government and from other organizations. More than 400,000 people have directly participated during the past two decades in Shramadana Camps and other activities of the Movement. This widespread participation in Sarvodaya projects and exposure to Sarvodaya values cannot be taken lightly. The writer believes that it has helped the participants to get a better understanding of rural life and its problems.

## Assessment of People's Participation

Why do people participate in Sarvodaya activities? How do they participate? and who participates? These are some of the questions often raised regarding Sarvodaya as a grass-roots level rural development movement. Besides the author's observations on the phenomenon of participation, several other writers (Lin Compton, 1979; Macy, 1983) have shed light on many aspects of popular participation.

The participation of the people in Sarvodaya activities in rural villages depends on many factors such as the type of activity, the time at which the event is held, the benefits, resources, atmosphere, purpose (common good, etc.), organizers, participants, and the "initial stimulus." In addition, factors such as "social identity," "shared feelings," "action for common good," "social responsibility," "reciprocity in social relationships," extension of an "invitation to attend," and the "prestige of the convener" have also acted as reasons for participation in community activities. On the contrary, factors such as "social distance," "interpersonal friction," "lack of

invitation," "economic status," and the "burdens of personal problems" lead to de-participation (Compton, 1979).

"Community ownership is a central requirement in many collective efforts for improving local conditions... The collective mode of decision making is preferred by rural village people" (Compton, 1979, p. 175) in solving problems. If a problem affects the majority of the villagers, there is the tendency for them to get together and share their resources to solve the problem. "Self-motivation," the influence of relatives, friends, and peers; a "concern for the village community"; and "positive views on Sarvodaya" serve as reasons for participation.

For the "average person with moderate educational attainment," Sarvodaya presents a vision and hope for the future. This vision and hope encourages them to participate in development activities. "The rich, very poor, the old, the self-sufficient, the lazy, the well-educated, and the uneducated frequently do not participate" (Compton, 1979, p. 194). Wealthier sections hesitate to participate when they are called upon to contribute disproportionately. The very poor do not have the time to participate because of their own personal struggle to meet basic survival needs. Sometimes the previous participants drop out when they don't see any benefits forthcoming.

It is the "energy, enthusiasm, and idealism of the youth that serves to launch initial Sarvodaya activities in the village, often with the support of a few adult figures" (Compton, 1979, p. 193). The general adult population will join subsequently in proportion to

the extent that they see concrete results. "Religious and economic factors were found to be important in encouraging participation" (Compton, 1979, p. 212). In addition, the wider social/political context of the country has also created opportunities and constraints for participation and on the whole for the activities of the Movement.

## Sarvodaya and the Political and Social Context of Sri Lanka

### Introduction

Sri Lanka has been undergoing major changes during the past few decades. From the time it gained independence in 1948 and until 1978, Sri Lanka was under a Westminster type of parliamentary system. The major components of the model included:

1. A symbolic head of the state with mostly ceremonial powers, nominated by the Prime Minister--the leader of the majority party/group in Parliament.
2. A parliament consisting of representatives elected from single and multi-member constituencies.
3. An executive consisting of leaders of the political party/group in power.

The constitutional changes that were effected in 1978 changed the Westminster model to a de Gaullist type of presidential system (Phandis, 1984). This change resulted in an increasing centralization of power in the hands of the President--the national executive of Sri Lanka. "The most important consideration which guided the

introduction of the Executive Presidency was the need for a stable executive which could not be dislodged at the whim of an elected legislature . . ." (Warnapala, 1982, p. xiii). The Parliament, under the new constitution, consists of a unicameral National State assembly with 196 members "elected from large multi-member electoral districts by a closed-list system of proportional representation" (Kearney, 1983, p. 29) for a period of six years. This new system not only changed the structure of the constitution, but also led to a change in the political status quo of the country by making remote the possibility of any other party coming into power.[6]

Political Party System

There are two major political parties in Sri Lanka--the United National Party (UNP) and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). The United National Party, in power since 1977, is committed to a policy of free enterprise and market economy and therefore, pursues a foreign policy which is pro-Western in orientation. It believes that the experience of Singapore in economic development, is a model for Sri Lanka to follow. In contrast, the SLFP, in power from 1956-1965 (with a short interruption in 1960), and again from 1970-1977, stands for a mixed economy with a stress on socio-economic reforms, i.e., land reform, broadening of educational opportunities, progressive taxation, and price control. In the field of foreign policy, SLFP attempted to portray Sri Lanka as a non-aligned country playing a

leading role in Third World affairs and liberation struggles against imperialism.

The other national political parties[7] which are of some importance, and which can command the support of nearly 10% of the popular vote, are: the Communist Party (CP), Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP), and Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)--the party that launched an armed uprising in 1971. All these parties are Marxist parties of differing shades of opinion.

In the Tamil areas of the north and to a certain extent in the Eastern Province which is also partly populated by Tamils, there seems to be a regional party system operating "with political organizations, leaders and lines of competition differing from the national patterns" (Kearney, 1983, p. 22). During the two decades following 1952, the Tamil Congress (TC), a party committed to the protection of minority rights under a unitary state, and the Federal Party (FP), which stands for a separate state for Sri Lankan Tamils and a federal form of government, have been the major contenders for power in the Tamil areas. They rarely contested seats outside the Tamil regions. In 1977, the FP and the TC merged into the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF). In the elections of that year, the TULF won all the seats in the Northern Province and obtained 72% of all the votes cast. The TULF demands a separate state for the Tamils as the only solution for the minority problem in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the TULF, which is the mainstream political party led by elite groups in the Sri Lankan Tamil community, there are the

organizations that are waging a guerrilla war against the government. These organizations, generally referred to by the media as "Tamil Tigers," consist of seven groups. "The founding group is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam--the name of the revolutionary socialist state that it wants to set up within Sri Lanka" (SCSL, 1985, p. 37). At present, the other two major groups are the Eelam People's Revolutionary Front, and the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam. It appears that "despite their rivalries, their low position in the Hindu caste structure helps to unify them" (SCSL, 1985, p. 37).

There are two major political organizations representing the Indian Tamil population living in the Sinhala areas of the central part of Sri Lanka. They are the Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC) and the Democratic Workers' Congress (DWC). The former is the more powerful of the two organizations and it is in coalition with the present government. The leader of the party is a member of the cabinet in the present government.

## Sarvodaya and Politics

The Sarvodaya political philosophy is based on two major concepts--"Gram Swaraj" and "People's Power." The concept of "Gram Swaraj" constitutes the aim of the Sarvodaya Movement to transform the Sri Lankan society into a republic of autonomous village communities. "People's Power" is the key ingredient of the "Gram Swaraj" republic, and implies "total and uninhibited participation of the people" (SPGRFD, 1976, p. 3), free from party politics, in decision

making, planning, implementation, sharing of benefits and evaluation. The Movement believes in a partyless democracy, in people being able to control their own destiny, and, therefore, aims to transform power from elite groups to people.

The aim of the Sarvodaya Movement--to establish a social order based on community ownership--reflects the socio-economic policy component of the Sarvodaya. The concept of community ownership is enshrined in the constitution of the organization; private ownership is considered "inalienably attached to competition" (SPGRFD, 1976, p. 2). The Movement advocates non-violence, as opposed to class war, as the means of resolving problems which Humanity faces. Ratnapala documents that:

> . . . for Ariyaratne political power does not emerge out of a barrel of a gun, nor does it come forth from the seasonal ballot you tediously cast in great hope. It comes out of mobilizing popular participation to the fullest at all levels and encouraging people to realize the dignity of human beings striving for the well-being of all" (Ariyaratne, CW, 1979, p. 17).

In the sphere of foreign affairs, the Movement aims for a "social order where man is not exploited by man" (SPGRFD, 1976, p. 3). All forms of imperialism and dictatorships of both right and left are condemned. The Vishvodaya Program (world awakening) was launched by the Movement as an attempt to achieve its international objectives of promoting people-to-people and organization-to-organization contacts and mutual understanding between nations.

In day-to-day political activities, Sarvodaya believes that it cannot operate in a vacuum but rather, must face the realities of

the existing political situation in context. From the outset, the Movement has followed a policy of aloofness with regard to party politics, while cooperating with the elected governments and attempting to maintain good relations with all political parties. The members of the Sarvodaya are free to vote for any party in elections for which he or she "has a special fancy." However, it expects its members to regard electoral politics as a "passing shower" and not to throw their weight on a system that is not compatible with the organization's way of thinking.

## Sarvodaya and the Government

The United National Party government that came into power in 1977 is a "right-of-center party" (Goulet, 1981, p. 30). It believes that the socialist policies of the previous government led to restrictions on private enterprise, stagnation of the national economy, massive unemployment and low productivity (Goulet, 1981). The UNP government is committed to a policy of revigorating the "moribund economy" by liberalizing the forces of private enterprise and private initiative; and inviting foreign investment, specifically multinational corporations to open up industries in Sri Lanka. The government's major objectives consist of accelerating the growth rate, expansion of employment, expansion of the nation's capital stock and improving the country's balance of trade.

In attempting to achieve these goals, the government rests its hopes on several macro-sector projects (Goulet, 1981). These consist

of (1) the Accelerated Mahaweli Program, a massive scheme to bring large areas under irrigation and generate rural employment; (2) a program to promote export-oriented manufacturing industries, mainly the creation of a free-trade zone; (3) an urban and rural reconstruction program; and (4) a program to promote tourism.

In contrast to the policy of the government, the Sarvodaya is a people's Movement advocating a non-elitist development strategy. This strategy is aimed at satisfying basic human needs as well as strengthening local, regional and national self-reliance. By eliciting grassroots level participation and "utilizing the dynamisms latent in the traditional institutions and indigenous values" (Goulet, 1981, p. 2), the Movement attempts to achieve these objectives.

There is a vast discrepancy between the aims, directions, strategies, and expected consequences of the two programs. The Sarvodaya stands for a non-elitist, indigenous, rural oriented development strategy based on the traditional values of sharing. In contrast the government stands for a "technico-rational" model of development, which is capital intensive in nature and high technology oriented. While the Sarvodaya aims at a righteous society based on equality, social justice and compassion, the government policy may "reinforce Western values of modernization" and "propel the nation forward into ever greater consumerism and competitiveness" (Goulet, 1981, p. 64).

Thus, of concern to the Movement is its operation in a context marked by serious discrepancies between Sarvodaya ideals and govern-

ment development policies. The contradictions which arise out of the friendly relationship the Movement has enjoyed with the present government in Sri Lanka further complicate the issue. But there are differences of opinion on this relationship within the Movement itself (Wismeijer, 1981). However, it is too early to draw conclusions on the expected outcomes of this relationship.

## Ethnic Problem

Sri Lanka is a country of heterogenous culture with several communities. According to the census of 1981, the Sinhalese constitute 74.4% of the population, Sri Lanka Tamils 12.4%, Indian Tamils 5.3%, Sri Lankan Muslims 6.9%, Indian Muslims 0.2%, Malays 0.3%, and Burghers 0.2%. Buddhism, the ancestral religion of the Sinhalese, is professed by 69.8% of the people; Hinduism is the ancestral religion of the Tamils, professed by 15.1%; Christianity, professed by Sinhalese, Tamils, and Burghers, is the religion of 7.6%; and Islam, professed by Muslims and Malays, is the religion of 7.4% of the population.[8] Currently, the major ethnic conflict in the country is between the Sri Lankan Tamils, who live mostly in the North and Eastern Provinces of the country and the Sinhalese who constitute the majority of the population.

The conflict between the Tamils in the north and east and the Sinhalese is very complicated, having roots which go back to ancient times. Differences center around questions of language, religion, colonization of the Dry Zone area of the country, employment admis-

sions to institutions of higher education, and, to some extent, on historical prejudices. The view expressed by the majority Sinhala community is that the British, who implemented a policy of "divide and rule," created more favourable opportunities for the Tamil minority in the areas of education, employment and trade. Therefore, they believe that steps need to be taken by the government to redress what are perceived as historical injustices.

The Tamils view the government actions taken since Independence as discriminatory. Such actions include colonization schemes for the settlement of Sinhalese in the north central and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka; the establishment of Sinhala as the State Language of the country, replacing English, even though the Tamil Language has official status; the declaration of Buddhism as the State Religion of the country, while providing constitutional protection to other religions; the pursuit of recruitment policies for public sector employees based on numbers proportionate to the strength of each ethnic group; and the introduction of an "area quota" system based on "merit and educational opportunity" for recruiting students to higher educational institutions.

Indian Tamils

Indian Tamils are descendents of workers imported since 1840s from Tamil areas of South India to Sri Lanka by the British planters as a source of cheap plantation labor. They were from the lowest strata of society in South India; nearly all were poor and illiterate.

Under the colonial government the Indian Tamils were regarded as permanent residents of the country and enjoyed citizenship rights and the right to vote in elections. When Sri Lanka achieved independence, however, the government was not prepared to recognize the Indian Tamils as permanent residents. By the passage of several Acts of Parliament[9] the Indian Tamils' citizenship rights were taken away and later they were disfranchised.

From 1949, government efforts were devoted to finding solutions to the problems arising out of their statelessness. By passing an Act of Parliament in 1949,[10] attempts were made to admit some of the Indian Tamils as citizens of the country. Thus, by 1964 approximately 134,000 Indian Tamils had been given Sri Lankan citizenship. Since then, through two agreements[11] between the government of Sri Lanka and the government of India, steps have been taken to solve the problem of citizenship. According to these agreements, 600,000 persons would be repatriated to India and Sri Lankan citizenship would be given to the remaining 375,000 persons. This is still in process.

Many other problems remain to be solved. Included in these are the integration of the Indian Tamils into the Sinhala community living around the plantations, illiteracy, and the need for improvements in sanitary and health conditions. The social welfare policy in Sri Lanka has been mainly financed by the revenue from the plantation sector which is the mainstay of the country's economy. "Nevertheless, it is in the plantation sector, where the Indian Tamils work, that the worst living conditions are found" (Kantowsky, 1980, p. 143).

Sarvodaya and Minorities

What is the position of the Sarvodaya Movement on the ethnic problem? Sarvodaya is a universal movement that embraces all of humankind and is based on the Buddhist teaching of "may all beings be well." It does not "discriminate against anybody on the ground of race, religion, parties, or Power Blocs, because it has none of these defilements" (SPGRFD, 1976, p. 9). All major communities and religious groups are represented in the Sarvodaya organization. In 1976, out of 358 members of the Sarvodaya Movement there were 14 Tamils and one Muslim (Kantowsky, 1981).

Healing the deep division between the Sinhala and Tamil community is one of the major goals of the Sarvodaya Movement. Although the majority of its adherents are Sinhalese, Sarvodaya conducts activities in Tamil areas. These activities are very much similar to activities conducted in Sinhala areas. In times of communal violence during the past few years, Sarvodaya has played a leading role in providing security, food and accommodation to displaced people. According to Oxfam America:

> Sarvodaya movement leaders believe that the plan proposed by some Tamils for a separate Tamil state is not in the best interests of either the Sinhala or the Tamil people. Instead they are working to promote the integration of the two communities through resettlement of refugees, joint training programs for Sinhala and Tamil youth, multicultural education, and learning of each other's languages (OAFFA, Undated, p. 7).

In addition, the Movement has taken a leading role in promoting a dialogue between the government and the Tamils. The Movement's

policy throughout has been to promote harmony and settle differences between the communities through non-violent means. However, such attempts do not appear to have been successful on a macro scale.

In the plantation sector, where the Indian Tamils work and live, the Sarvodaya has started welfare and rehabilitation activities on a fairly moderate scale. These activities include the upgrading of services of the estate creches where mothers can leave their children while they work on the plantations, a milk feeding program for children and pregnant mothers, and projects to improve water supplies to plantation workers. In certain activities plantation workers and Sinhala villagers work together in Shramadana camps, thus helping to promote harmony between the two communities.

Caste System and Sarvodaya

In Sri Lanka the social system, in both the Sinhala and Tamil areas, is "a federation of constituent independent groups" (Raghavan, 1961, p. 57) or castes. Each unit has its own traditions and sub-cultural value system which may help to distinguish one group from the other even though factors such as common habitat, language, religion, and concept of national unity weld together these groups into an integrated whole. While the foundations of the caste system appear to be eroding, it is still a practical reality which applies to certain aspects of life.

In the Sinhala areas the caste system can be classified both vertically and horizontally (Raghavan, 1961, 1962) with its roots

traceable to several factors. The two primary factors appear to be:

1. Various streams of immigrants came to Sri Lanka from India and settled down in different parts of the country. These groups developed as independent caste groups with their distinct traditions and sub-cultures.

2. The occupational groups formed themselves into separate social units and developed as endogamous groups marrying within the group. Under feudalism these groups evolved status gradings and developed into a "stratigraphic vertical structure."

The Sinhala caste system[12] consists of four "elite castes"--Goyigama, Karāva, Durāva and Salāgama--which could be horizontally arranged. There are twenty or more other castes which appear to be hierarchically arranged below this horizontal structure. At the bottom of the caste ladder are the Kinnara (mat weavers) and the Rodiyas (outcasts/beggars). The Sinhala caste structure is fundamentally different from the Indian caste system. While the Indian caste system is sanctioned by religion, the Sinhala caste system is not supported by any religious beliefs. The philosophy of Buddhism does not provide any support for discrimination between social groups. Caste among Sinhalese finds expression more effectively in marriage than in other aspects of social life.

In the Tamil areas, the caste system (Pfaffenberger, 1982) is hierarchically structured. The Tamil society in the north and east consists of more than 20 castes.[13] At the top of the caste hierarchy are: Pirāman (Brahman), Śaiva Kurukkal (Śaiva priest) and Vellālar (landholders/farmers). The Vellālar consists of about 50% of the population in Jaffna. At the bottom of the caste ladder are untouch-

ables who constitute one third of the population of the Tamil areas. The four major groups among the untouchables are: Ampaṭṭar (barber), Paḷḷar or Pallan (praedial labor), Naḷavar (praedial labor) and Paṟiyar or Paraiyar (drummer). The caste system among the Indian Tamils[14] (Jayaraman, 1981), is similar in structure to both the South Indian caste system and the caste system in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka. The majority of the Indian Tamils belong to untouchable castes such as Pallan Paraiyan.

The Sarvodaya Movement, based on the egalitarian philosophy of Buddhism, rejects the notion of caste. The Movement started its activities from a village--Kanatoluwa--which belongs to the Rodiyā caste, one of the lowest rungs of the Sinhala caste ladder. This action which attempted to bring outcasts into the societal mainstream represents one of the major efforts in recent Sri Lankan history to break through the caste barriers. The activities of the Sarvodaya in addressing the social problems arising out of caste differences have been focused on attempts to ameliorate the conditions of the low caste groups and on actions to educate and raise the consciousness of the other caste groups.

Currently, Sarvodaya works with all caste groups both in the Sinhala and Tamil areas. Because caste is not generally a topic that is brought up, the researcher was unable to acquire information on the specific groups the Movement is presently working with. However, it is known that the Sarvodaya (as mentioned above) conducts a number

of activities among the Indian Tamils who belong to the lowest rungs of the Tamil caste system.

Women and Sarvodaya

As in any other society, the status of women in Sri Lanka varies according to disparities in the level of education, social class, ethnic group, religion, caste, legal system, and economic dependence/independence. The demographic ratio of women in Sri Lanka is 48%. Women constitute about 27% of the work force, their average life expectancy is 67 years, and their literacy rate is 70%.

Women in Sri Lanka have been in the work force from colonial times. At present, they are employed in all sectors of the economy--agriculture, industry and the service sector. In agriculture and industry they are a cheap source of labor; their pay is, in most cases, less than that of men. In the service sector and middle professions women enjoy equality with men regarding status and pay. Nevertheless, there are few women in managerial positions or higher professions.

In spite of the social changes and advances in education that have taken place in Sri Lanka during the recent times (Jayawardene, 1980), women are still regarded as a group in need of male protection and guidance. In the Sri Lankan society, the belief still persists that a woman's primary role is that of wife and mother. However, "if one applies the usual indicators to measure the 'quality of life' of

the women of Sri Lanka, the results compare favorably with other countries in the region" (Asia) (Jayawardene, 1980, p. 11).

The Sarvodaya Movement believes in the equality among the sexes. In addition, Buddhism, which is the guiding philosophy of the Sarvodaya Movement, advocates equality and thus presents no obstacle to women's emancipation. Within the Sarvodaya Movement, women participate with men on equal footing in all activities. Women serve on the executive committee of the Movement and hold high positions in the Sarvodaya organizational structure, such as the position of vice president. Women also serve as pre-school teachers, work with men on agricultural and other projects, and play leadership roles at local, regional and national levels. On the whole, it appears that women in the Sarvodaya Movement enjoy equality of status with men and are not subject to any type of exploitation. Women in the Movement also seem to enjoy more freedom and respect than women in other societies.

## Significance of Village-Level Leaders - The Facilitators of the Participatory Process

Sarvodaya strongly believes that rural people possess an innate potential for self-development, and that the freeing of this potential is the key to development. Releasing this potential is dependent on a process of internal changes that should take place in people's mental and spiritual lives, which in turn should trigger changes in their attitudes and feelings. One of the major expected outcomes of these

changes is the creation of a feeling of self-confidence and self-respect. If these changes are to occur, the Movement believes that a person will become aware of his position in society and of his capacities to build his own self and the community.

Sarvodaya has seen, however, that there are many obstacles to such changes--dependency, patron-client relationships, and the historically rooted fatalism, to name a few. Hence, Sarvodaya believes that the first requirement for rural development is to initiate a broad educational process that would facilitate this change, overcoming the obstacles that come along the way. The underlying principle of the Sarvodaya methodology is that rural transformation will begin only with changes in the rural people themselves, in their attitudes towards change, in their aspirations, and above all, in their perceptions of themselves and their own power as individuals and as groups to better their situation. Further requirements to initiate such a process, as Sarvodaya sees it, are to create greater community awareness and greater community cooperation that comes with the participation of the people in the development process.

To achieve this, Sarvodaya believes that the stimulus can basically come from village-level leaders. From the perspective of Sarvodaya, effective village-level leadership is one of the main factors which helps to initiate people's participation and contribute to the village awakening process. Without their active role, Sarvodaya cannot function efficiently at the village level. In the opinion of the leaders of the Movement, the Sarvodaya village-level worker is a

potential bridge between a community of which he/she is a part and a set of larger forces for change. He/she is the potential key to a better future for many of Sri Lanka's villages. Therefore, strengthening the capabilities of these workers is one of the most important challenges facing the Movement.

In the following chapter, the writer has attempted to review in a broader context important issues related to the concept of village-level leadership as initiators of the participatory process. The role and the issues pertaining to the front-line workers has been discussed in some depth, drawing upon the experience of several selected Third World countries.

# C H A P T E R V

# ROLE AND ISSUES OF VILLAGE-LEVEL LEADERS FOR PARTICIPATORY RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Compared to other elements in the field of rural development, research work connected to the role of village-level leadership and the issues pertinent to this role is practically non-existent, even though these front-line workers have been functioning in the rural societies for many decades assuming critical development roles. Village-level leaders, sometimes labelled as extension agents, change agents, facilitators, and field workers have always been considered crucial to the process of social change and development, but this lack of interest in evaluating the effectiveness of their role or in seriously considering the issues affecting their efficient performance, in order to gear them systematically to the needs of the development process, has been a serious drawback.

Village-level leadership has always been considered to be decisive in raising the consciousness of the villagers, stimulating them for action, and eliciting the active participation of the villagers in designing and implementing the development plans needed for a participatory rural development process. In day-to-day contact with villagers, it is the village-level leader "who must be perceptive and sensitive to individual attitudes, and who must use the creative means

to involve the people in expressing and acting on their needs and problems" (Mahan, 1980, p. 10). Direction, guidance and coordination by an effective and informed leadership are decisive factors in enabling the villagers to forge their way into a path of development.

In most instances, much of the burden of providing this leadership falls upon the government or certain institutions which are responsible for the development of rural communities. Coombs (1980) points out that "a switchover by any government to a more integrated, community-based approach to rural development . . . will inevitably require the recruitment, training and effective backstopping of a large number of frontline workers" (Coombs, 1980, p. 25). These include either paid workers or volunteers.

## Research on Leadership

A considerable amount of studies have been done in the field of leadership in complex industrial societies and as a result, a large body of literature has been produced. This literature, though focused on a totally different environment than the rural societies in developing countries, may be helpful in serving as a frame of reference in understanding the leadership phenomenon in rural societies. A review of literature (Beck, 1978) reveals that there have been three major phases of research in the field of leadership. The first phase was focused on trait theories, the second on leadership styles, and the third, which is the current phase, on situation theories.

Research on trait theories was focused on the question of what are the traits that distinguish leaders from others. According to Eugene E. Jennings, "fifty years of study have failed to produce one personality trait or set of qualities that can be used to discriminate leaders and non-leaders (Quote in Hersey, 1976, p. 26).

Research on leadership style theories was directed to determine which style was "ideal or normative." The best known model in the category of leadership style theories was the Ohio State Model, developed by the Ohio State University (Stogdill and Coons, 1957). This model uses two dimensions: "initiating structures" and "consideration," which are considered crucial for leadership. Hersey suggests that a "single ideal or normative style of leader behavior is unrealistic and inappropriate" (Hersey, 1976, p. 44) because it "does not take into consideration cultural differences, particularly customs and traditions as well as the level of education, the standard of living or industrial experience" (Hersey, 1976, p. 45).

The situational leadership theories are based on the assumption that there are a number of styles, and attempts have been made to determine which style is ideal/effective in varying situations. One of the best known of these theories is the Situational Leadership Theory developed by Hersey and Blanchard (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982).

This Situational Leadership Theory which evolved from the Ohio State Model uses the terms "task behavior" and "relationship behavior" to describe concepts similar to "initiating structures" and "consideration." It also refers to four leadership styles: "Telling - Style" 1

(S 1), "Selling - Style" 2 (S 2), "Participating - Style" 3 (S 3), and "Delegating - Style 4" (S 4). In addition, "effectiveness" and "task relevant maturity" are the other components of the Situational Leadership Theory. "When a style of a leader is appropriate to a given situation, it is termed effective. . ." (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982, p. 105). The concept, "task relevant maturity" is defined in terms of "follower(s) maturity," "job maturity," and "psychological maturity," or, in other words, "ability and willingness." However, the studies conducted so far on the relationship between leader behavior and maturity (Smith, 1974; Beck, 1978) do not produce conclusive results. This shows the need for further research in the field of leadership.

## Village-Level Leadership

The term "village-level leadership" is a relatively new concept. However, during the past few years this phenomenon has received the attention of many anthropologists and sociologists who have devoted their research to peasant communities. Most of these studies have focused on social, economic, political and religious factors affecting rural leadership.

A survey of literature on the leadership studies done in Asian countries (Dube, 1965) reveals that the major leadership categories identified in rural areas are: formal leaders whose status depends on functions in organizations; informal leaders, who are accepted "spontaneously and voluntarily" by the community; traditional leaders; and

new emerging leaders. There is a tendency in many instances for a close relationship to develop between the village social structure and village leadership. In this relationship "the operation of ascriptions and achievement principles" in society and the "role sets associated with particular statuses" (Dube, 1965, p. 28) are crucial in determining leadership.

In most Third World countries, traditional leaders are a force to reckon with, but it is not clear as to what extent they are adaptable to leadership roles in new situations. The emerging leaders consist mostly of those who emerge from village-level organizations and those who have been exposed to modernization influences from outside. They are generally considered to be a "progressive" force in the village. However, what influences they can wield or what role they can play in development, when the attitude of the traditional leadership is negative towards them, is yet to be determined.

Studies by Ansari, Haider and Kinai (1965) suggest that religion, heredity and caste, age, reputation of the family, doing favours and showing respect to others, developing contacts with influencial people and government officials, and acquisition of wealth are some of the factors which help people to emerge as leaders. Studies in the Philippines (Covar, 1965) reveal that in rural areas leaders tend to

1. be more mature in age
2. possess more wealth
3. have higher educational attainments
4. have connections with influential persons outside the community.

5. have a large kindred as a basic segment of their following.

6. have an ability to internalize the values of the group to which they belong.

7. be knowledgeable.

8. receive a disproportionate amount of interaction (Covar, 1965, pp. 83-85).

A study conducted in India by Roy in 1965 has exposed results which are very similar to those above.

## Leadership and Community Power Structure

It is generally assumed that leaders in any community (Cook, 1979) are at the top of the community power pyramid and control the power structure. Identifying the leaders in rural areas, therefore, involves locating people at the top of the community power hierarchy. This is based on the assumption that the community power structure is pyramidical in shape and few people at the top are the leaders who control the community, while the rest of the people have to follow their decisions. In other words, decisions are made by a few at the top of the community hierarchy with no contributions from others except in carrying them out.

However, in rural areas in most Third World countries, the community power structure and the position of leaders vis-à-vis the community is more complex than that which is described above. Rural areas generally have many leaders and a variety of decision-making

processes and styles. Most rural areas in the Third World are likely to fit into the "pluralist power structure model" which assumes that "power is spread among groups, interests and people and that no single group of leaders has enough to command the whole community structure" (Cook, 1976, p. 6). This means that there are a "number of sets of leaders" and there may be different leaders in different circumstances acting upon different issues. In the case of Sri Lanka, Singer (1964) documents that the "Buddhist priests, the traditionally influential families, the vernacular school teachers and the Ayurvedic physicians" (Singer, 1964, pp. 136-137) are among the more obvious groups of leaders in rural areas. Added to these are the formally elected members of the various organizations in the villages, the central and local government officers operating at the village level, and the informal leaders of various interest groups.

In rural development, being a leader (EIC, undated) is a part of a community/rural worker's function. A person's leadership depends on the extent to which he has a positive impact on the people around him. In most cases a leader is pictured as a person "desiring to manipulate, dominate and dictate to others" (EIC, undated, p. 1) and uses people as pawns. Usually he relies on financial resources, ownership of land, and physical coercion to achieve his goals. In other words, he represents the "negative phase of power." In the context of participatory rural development, the leader's intention should be to empower the villagers and not to seek the support from others to gain personal ends. In this context, acceptance by the rural com-

munity, popularity and personal qualities, organizational abilities, and commitment to the goals of the community are some of the main sources of power that a village-level leader may draw upon.

The EIC manuscript mentioned above states that

> . . . rather than to seek the support of others, the successful leader helps others to build confidence in themselves, by the way he expresses faith in their ability to solve their problems, and to achieve their goals. Rather than to make all decisions, he helps others to take responsibility and make commitments to action (EIC, undated, p. 2).

It further points out that a leader can use his influence in five ways:

1. To make other people feel strong (so that they feel they have the ability to influence their future and their environment);

2. To build others' trust in the influencer;

3. To structure cooperative relationships rather than competitive relationships;

4. To resolve conflicts by the mutual confrontation of issues;

5. To promote goal-oriented thinking and behavior (EIC, undated, p. 6).

## Role of Village-level Leaders

The role played by village-level leaders is crucial in achieving the goals of rural development. Generally village-level leaders carry out a large number of functions, yet there is no consensus among practitioners about the scope and limitations of their role. A role by definition is "a socially recognized pattern of behavior within

accepted boundaries in determined situations. Roles imply that the actions and the qualities associated with the position are stable even though different people occupy them" (O'Gorman, 1978, p. 1). However, in the context of participatory rural development, where intra- and interpersonal relations between leaders and villagers are important for achieving successes, the role may extend beyond an assigned number of functions.

In a rural development process where participation of the people is stressed, village-level leadership is significant in the following:

1. identifying and articulating the needs of the villagers,
2. analysing their problems,
3. considering alternative solutions,
4. deciding upon a course of action and mobilizing resources (Srinivasan and others, 1980, p. 1).

Many practitioners in the field of rural development believe that eliciting the participation and involvement of the people in all stages and processes of development, ranging from baseline surveys and needs assessment to project planning, implementation and evaluation, will have to be the central focus of the leadership role. Dube (1965) has specifically spelled out some of these major functions involved in the leadership role:

1. Definition of group goals.
2. Initiation of action for the realization of these goals.
3. Development of a strategy for the achievement of these goals.
4. Sustenance of the interest of the members of the group in these goals.

5. Clarification of issues and solutions of problems (interpersonal or otherwise) with a view to ensuring the speedy realization of the goals.

6. Exercise of a measure of control over recalcitrant members who block the achievement of these goals (Dube, 1965, p. 24, 25).

Robert Carlson (1976), commenting on the "competencies which seem to surface or are needed" by village-level leaders, documents that these

> . . . might be grouped into technical, interpersonal and intrapersonal categories. Within the technical realm might be included such notions as project management skills, planning skills, communication skills and analytical skills. The term "interpersonal dynamics" suggests notions of conflict resolution and political strategies, the art of persuasion, group dynamics and development of mutual support systems, philosophical commitment to bettering the quality of living, a belief in the potentials and interests of those involved, persistence, openness to feedback and tolerance for ambiguity are some potential interpersonal qualities suited for initiating a process of change (Carlson, 1976, p. 3).

Philip Coombs (1974) has a different approach for conceptualizing the role of village-level leaders. He has discussed the role of front-line workers in the context of four major approaches to rural development:

1. The extension approach
2. The training approach
3. The integrated approach, and
4. The self-help approach.

## Extension Approach

As Coombs has pointed out, in the conventional extension

approach, which originated in the United States and which was later adopted in Korea and Senegal, the primary aims are to increase production by persuading farmers to adopt "improved technical practices" and to "improve rural family life by teaching home economics" and organizing youth clubs of the 4-H type. The target population is made up of primarily "progressive" farmers and their families. The role of the extension agent/change agent is to deliver the technical "message" and "recommended practices from higher echelons to the local community, mainly through demonstrations and individual consultations.

Training Approach

The training approach was initially promoted by the British colonial government to bring "African peasant farmers into modern commercial farming" (Coombs, 1974, p. 38). Later, it was adopted with broader objectives in countries such as Kenya, and South Korea. The primary objective of this approach is to bring farmers into residential and non-residential training centers and to provide agricultural instruction for them. In this approach the facilitator's role is mainly that of a "trainer, helper and resource linker." The recipients of the training program are expected to go back to their villages and influence others in the community.

## Self-Help Approach

The community development approach and Animation Rurale in Francophone Africa, which were discussed in Chapter II, are examples of the Self-Help approach. In this approach there were village-level workers in India and animateurs in Francophone Africa who acted as change agents at the local level. They had multiple functions concerning various aspects of development--agriculture, health, home economics, animal husbandry, saving schemes, etc. Their role also included analysing and assessing local needs and problems in consultation with the people, designing development plans, raising the consciousness of the villagers, and stimulating them for action.

## Integrated Approach

The integrated approach has many different models. The Intensive Agricultural Program in India and the Puebla Project in Mexico are some examples. This approach, which basically deals with agricultural development, assumes that a combination of factors--"right technology and education. . .access to physical inputs and markets, and attractive prices--is essential to get agriculture moving" (Coombs, 1974, p. 89). The target population consists mainly of poor farmers and their families. The approach aims at giving the local population an increased awareness and responsibility for development work. A team of extension workers coordinate various activities at the village-level. They perform the role of both trainer and extension agent. The extension workers are expected to act as representatives

of the project in their respective areas, to teach and assist farmers to apply new methods and practices, and also to assist in credit, marketing and other such programs.

From the above discussion it is clear that, ordinarily, village-level leaders do not function in isolation or exclusively with their target audiences. A village-level leader's roots are usually in an organization or an agency, either governmental or nongovernmental. The nature and functions of the role of the change agent is to a large extent determined by the goals, the mode of operation, and the relationship of the change agent vis-à-vis the agency to the local community. The agencies generally lie on a continuum ranging from those which are oriented towards achieving national goals and following a top-down approach to those that are people's oriented organizations following a bottom-up approach. In the former, the implementation of the agency's program by the change agent is stressed. In the latter, the involvement of the community in all aspects of development is emphasized.

However, such insights that can be gleaned from the literature may not be sufficient to draw specific conclusions about the nature, scope and limitations of the role of a village-level leader in participatory rural development. This fact is one of the major issues to which the practitioners must address themselves in the future. An attempt has been made below to briefly discuss some of the important issues related to village-level leadership in participatory rural development.

## Issues of Leadership

Experience in most countries demonstrates that the effectiveness of participatory rural development programs largely depends on the role assigned to the village-level leaders and how well they carry them out. Coombs (1980) documents that this "depends on how well the front-line workers are selected, trained and supported, and what incentives and motivations they have for doing their best. As a general rule, Coombs notes, "the more serious the responsibilities given to them, the more seriously they and the community are likely to take their work." Coombs further states that

> A number of practical questions arise with respect to these front-line workers. What functions and responsibilities should they be given or not given? Should they be single or multi-purpose workers, and if the latter, how much can they handle without becoming overloaded? What qualities and qualifications should they have? How should they be recruited, selected and trained? What should be done about personnel turnover? What incentives do they need to take their responsibilities seriously, to stay with the job and put forth their best efforts? What sort of supervision and continuing support and follow-up training do they require? (Coombs, 1980, p. 29)

Aside from these, there are other broader issues and dimensions which need to be considered in the context of rural societies. Some of these are, for example: How do political changes affect rural leadership? How do changes in the leadership at the national level affect the form and structure of village-level leadership? How do heredity, caste and kinship affiliations affect the village-level leadership? How does religion affect village societies and could the religious leaders be supportive in the community-oriented development

programs? Can the religious leaders play the role of village-level leaders in rural development? How does traditional leadership, which is a force to reckon with in the rural areas in most countries, affect the village-level leadership and the rural development process itself? Interested in maintaining the status quo, will the traditional leaders hinder any change in rural areas?

There are no pat answers to these questions to fit all the situations, and there are no studies which have attempted to provide satisfactory solutions to all the questions raised. However, an attempt will be made below to shed some light on these and similar issues by drawing upon some of the experiences of Ecuador, Tanzania and the People's Republic of China--countries which have followed community-oriented policies in rural development.

## Facilitators in Ecuador

Based on the findings of a study carried out in Ecuador concerning the characteristics of facilitators for nonformal education, Etling (1975) suggests that the following criteria are most important in the selection of facilitators. The facilitators should

(a) possess a strong sense of cultural pride

(b) be flexible and creative

(c) be dynamic and open

(d) be available

(e) possess a life style which does not conflict with the community

(f) believe that people ought to constantly aspire to improve themselves and their community

(g) understand the nature of the potential work in the community (Etling, 1975, p. 215).

As to the most important facilitator characteristics after training, Etling has suggested the following: The facilitators should

(a) be skilled at discussion and dialogue

(b) be able to increase people's confidence

(c) be skilled in aiding community planning

(d) be able to bring people together

(e) be sensitive to the feelings, attitudes and relationships of the people

(f) believe in the strength of shared decision making

(g) be able to effect horizontal relationships

(h) be skilled in dealing with diverse individual needs and abilities

(i) be able to catalyse cooperation among people

(j) be skilled in negotiating

(k) possess group dynamic skills

(l) have analytical and evaluation skills

(m) see development as a process of liberation from domination and dependence

(n) believe in the possibility of change, in people's capacity to grow, and in people's potential

(o) be able to discover and articulate the learning needs present in the community

(p) delegate authority

(q) be able to motivate (Etling, 1975, pp. 215-216).

Ten Cell Leaders in Tanzania

In Tanzania, where participation of the people in rural development is stressed by the government, the ruling party functions at the village level in the form of ten house cells. A ten house cell is roughly a unit of ten houses with an unpaid elected leader. Fortmann (1980) documents that the majority of these leaders are male, about one fourth of them are female, and that there is a significant relationship between wealth and leadership. Traditional leaders, because of their wisdom and experience; wealthier men because of their ability to handle money and their being "less likely to be tempted by the village funds"; better educated, energetic young people, because of their ability to read and write and represent the village, are selected to this position.

The role of these leaders varies from place to place and from time to time. In most cases, they perform the role of settling disputes in the village, mobilizing villagers for self-help projects, acting as ambassador of the village vis-à-vis the government, and transmitting instructions from the government. A party pamphlet (Mashina YA TANU, 1972) lists the duties of cell leaders as follows:

- to explain to the people policies of TANU and the government.
- to articulate people's views and opinions and communicate them to TANU and the government.
- to be responsible for collection of party dues.
- to persuade people who are not members to become members of TANU.
- to play their role in safeguarding the peace and security of this country by seeing to it that laws and regulations are obeyed.

- to foster strong cooperation amongst the members in the party cell.
- to take overall charge of the affairs of that cell.
- to be the delegate of the cell to the Branch Annual conference.
- to play the role of a member of village development committee. (Quote from Fortmann, 1980, p. 42)

One of the major issues which has demoralized the leaders in Tanzania, is the fact that they have to work without any remuneration for their work. This makes it difficult to sustain the motivation of the leaders and promotes the tendency to elect wealthier people who can spend time on village activities. The second major problem is balancing the "responsiveness to their constituency" against that of national policy. The leaders who do not mobilize villagers to implement the national policy are not regarded as effective leaders by the government and the party. On the other hand, leaders may antagonize the villagers by attempting to mobilize them to implement unpopular policies.

## Cadres in the People's Republic of China

In the People's Republic of China, the village-level leadership question was one of the central concerns of the ruling Communist Party and the government from the 1950s to about the end of the 1970s. It is a country where village-level leadership has been very effective in eliciting the participation of the people in rural development, under the People's Commune system. The Chinese Communists believed

that cadres decide everything and they regarded the village-level cadres as the most valuable asset in rural development and considered the best proportion of cadres to peasants to be 1:30.

The village-level leaders in China were individuals who had a high degree of commitment to the Party and the village. They were generally recruited from the ranks of workers, peasants and those who were sympathetic to the revolution. The "ideological correctness," class background, and the will to struggle and sacrifice have, in changing proportions, been important criteria for leadership selection in the People's Republic of China. Besides, the concern for the welfare of the masses, self-discipline and activism were considered important in the selection of leaders.

The mass line. The ruling Party and the government, in order to extend its communication system and organization into rural areas, had developed a new leadership style--the "mass line." The main objective of this style was to link the Party/government apparatus with the local society and win support of the peasant population. It was a technique used to maximize the participation of the villagers and their enthusiasm. Elements of this "mass line" included maintaining continuous contact with the people, giving attention to their actual needs and concerns, the formulation of policy and plans on the basis of these concerns, the creation of organizational structures capable of testing and adjusting policies to elicit mass response, and the ability of leaders to get things done by persuasion rather than compulsion.

The "mass line" consisted of four progressive stages: "perception, summarization, authorization and implementation." According to this "mass line," the cadres operated among the people, studying their scattered and unsystematic views and knowledge and attempting to identify problems. This was done to draw general conclusions about peasant problems, the necessary action to be taken, and to figure out the areas of strength and weaknesses for Party operation. The cadres summarized their findings and conclusions into reports. The highest committee responsible for the respective area received these cadre reports with comments from the lower echelons of the Party hierarchy. These reports were carefully studied by the committee and the appropriate Party policy for the particular area was formulated. Based on this policy, instructions/directives/guidelines were issued to lower echelons. These instructions were sent back to the people through cadres and were popularized among the peasants until they embraced the ideas as their own and were prepared to put these ideas into action. This process was continuously repeated in order to verify and revise information and knowledge about peasant needs and to prevent it from lagging behind current events.

Red and expert. To carry out the responsibilities in rural development, cadres were expected to possess certain skills, attitudes and qualities. The major criteria in this area has been that leaders should be "red and expert," which is the Chinese version of "virtue and ability." This, in other words, means that political commitment and technical competence make a good leader. The Chinese believe

everyone as being capable of expertise, and credits the masses of people with intelligence and creativity. However, being "red" was considered more important because, for the Chinese, it meant taking more initiative, improving cooperation, making a greater contribution to the socialist construction and in general serving the people more meaningfully.

In the People's Republic of China since the revolution, the focus of rural development activity has changed with the changes in the stages of development and changes in the policy pursued by the government. At the beginning of the collectivization policy in agriculture, the focus was set on organizing mutual aid teams, but when this stage was completed, the focus shifted to organizing cooperatives and finally establishing communes. At present, the focus is on stabilizing socialism and modernization and on increasing production. In achieving the goals of each phase, the role of village-level cadres included mobilizing, educating and motivating villagers, assessing their needs, formulating plans for development, providing leadership in carrying out plans, helping to evaluate the effectiveness of plans, and continuously revising policies.

Issues of village-leadership in China. In the People's Republic of China numerous issues had surfaced pertaining to village-level leadership. The major issues can be broadly categorized into four major groups: The problem of "red and expert," the reliability of cadres, the problems arising from changes in the class nature of leaders, and the leaders being overburdened with responsibilities.

The problem of "red and expert" has been a constant issue in Communist China since 1949. The Chinese policy has fluctuated from time to time between emphasis on growth and distribution. When growth is stressed, the criteria entails skills and efficiency. The need is for leaders who are experts, although the experts may not always have the "proper" class background and political commitment. When distribution is stressed, however, the political commitment and class background of the leaders becomes important.

The second issue is the reliability of cadres in balancing the interests of the village against the interests of the State. This is highly related to the first issue. Bernstein (1967) documents that locally recruited cadres have family and friendship ties with the villagers and there is a tendency to support the regime's policies only if they are beneficial to the village. This may sometimes lead to conflicts with the political objectives of the regime.

The third is an issue that arises from within the village environment itself. Bernstein (1968) notes that after the land reform in China, the village cadres too received their share of land and draft animals with other peasants. This action elevated them to the position of middle peasants and cadres became more interested in farming and increasing their personal income. This led to the neglect of their political obligations and to a considerable number of leaders desiring to withdraw from leadership work. This conflict between the personal interests of the cadres and the political aims of the regime has been a constant issue.

The fourth issue is the continuously increasing number of tasks and assignments of the leaders. This increase has been the result of higher level officials assigning too much work and insisting that village-level cadres get things done quickly without grasping the conditions in the village or not paying attention to the objective limitations of their capabilities. This in turn has led to other problems such as village cadres resorting to coercion rather than persuasion and antagonizing the people in the village.

From time to time a variety of methods have been used to resolve these issues and to improve discipline and solidarity among village-level leaders. These methods range from criticism and self-criticism to training and education campaigns, rectification campaigns and purges.

## Conclusion

It is evident from the above discussion that the role and issues of leadership is highly complex and controversial which have been subject to much debate among the practitioners in rural development during the past few decades. Questions such as who is an ideal leader? what qualities should these leaders have? what functions should they be given? etc., still remain to be answered. Through two and one half decades of experience in community development activities in the Sri Lankan villages, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka offers rich insights into these issues. In the following chapter, the

writer intends to explore the Sarvodaya experience and highlight some of the ideas that can be gathered from its unique experience pertaining to the role and issues of the village-level leaders.

# C H A P T E R VI

## SARVODAYA VILLAGE-LEVEL LEADERSHIP

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement believes that an active village-level leadership is one of the most essential ingredients in a developmental process, if it is to help in a great way in ameliorating the conditions of the villages. Currently, the Movement possesses a cadre of about 10,000 village-level leaders, who keep the Sarvodaya process in motion throughout the entire nation. Sarvodaya, being a movement which has grown out of constant reflection on its own actions, entails a rich body of experiences, which have evolved over a quarter of a century, from working with these front-line workers. This chapter focuses on some of the issues related to its village-level leadership as revealed from its experience and also analyzes the current efforts of the Movement to prepare those leaders for their most vital role.

As the first principle, Sarvodaya rejects the idea of leadership imposed from above, of leaders who have no roots among the people whom they are supposed to work for or lead. If the leadership is to have the interest of the village at heart, it should emerge from the village itself. Such leaders are "insiders" from their community, and as a result, the chances of their being accepted by the community members as carriers of innovative ideas are high.

Based on the belief that leadership should emerge from the village itself, usually young people who show dedication, talent and organizational capabilities in Sarvodaya activities, commitment to Sarvodaya and love and devotion to the village community are selected to serve as village-level leaders. Some of these potential leaders are diagnosed at the "family gatherings" or youth group meetings. Sometimes they emerge at Shramadana camps by showing successful organizational capabilities. The general recruitment pattern is that when an individual either actively seeks Sarvodaya membership or attends Sarvodaya lectures or participates in activities, he or she is selected to be a leader depending on his/her abilities and willingness. Whatever the recruitment pattern is, genuine interest in Sarvodaya activities and the ability to command confidence and respect among the villagers are emphasized.

Sarvodaya believes that "it is not by belonging to an influential family nor by having had a city-based education that one can become a community leader" (Ariyaratne: PMS, 1977, p. 7). Sarvodaya's effort has been to make leaders out of the so-called lethargic villagers who have, in fact, been by-passed by previous development efforts. Ratnapala, commenting on Ariyaratne's view of leadership, states that

> . . . his ideal village-level leader is a villager with a mammoty in his hand, fortified by the simple philosophy of Buddhism which encourages one to treat human beings on equal footing regardless of race, caste or religion and strives for the well being of all (Ratnapala: ACW, undated, p. 16).

Sarvodaya does not believe that traditional elite groups, whose position in the village is based on exploitative and patron-client relationships, can lead the common people to empowerment and liberation. However, the attempt of the Movement is to facilitate the emergence of a new informal action-oriented leadership from the village itself with the total or tacit approval of the traditional leadership wherever necessary. Colletta (1979), observing the situation, concludes that

> . . . it does not replace the existing legal-rational village authority, but merely serves to "mockify" this authority, while gradually becoming the new operational structure of the village. This realignment of village leadership is not one of violent displacement of village elites and existing socio-economic relationships, but a non-violent institutionalization of a dual system; one of a symbolic governance and authority through formal leadership, and another of mass action through informal groups and leadership under the legitimate eyes of that very same symbolic authority. This arrangement of dualism can be viewed as a strategic transitional stage in moving decision-making power from a handful of village elites to the masses in a non-violent manner (Colletta, 1979, pp. 17-18).

## Issues of Sarvodaya Village-Level Leadership

An attempt was made by the writer in this study to inquire more deeply into some of the controversial issues pertaining to the grass-roots level leadership as reflected in the Sarvodaya villages. In more concrete terms, efforts were made to explore more deeply into the image of an ideal village-level leader from the point of view of different categories of audiences, namely the Sarvodaya workers, planners, and community leaders. For this purpose the informal inter-

view technique--individual interviews and group interviews--was employed by the writer (administered through the research assistant). The interviews were guided by a structured interview guide which was prepared on themes gleaned from earlier literature review on rural leadership, in order to gather important information in an orderly manner (see the appendix). The population who participated in the interview consisted of a selected sample of program planners, coordinators and community resource people, as well as the village-level leaders themselves. On some rare occasions the interviews did not penetrate beneath the surface, and the interviewed people seemed to respond in a stereotypic manner depending on how they thought they should respond. However, on the whole, the survey did highlight very important issues with regard to the effectiveness of the village-level leaders in promoting participatory rural development as revealed from the Sarvodaya experience.

One of the questions that was raised during the interview was "What special qualities or skills make an effective village-level leader?" There was a general consensus among the respondents that it was difficult to find all these qualities expected of a leader in one person. In many cases, a person may be strong in one or two traits and less strong or even weak in others. The majority believed that the extent to which a person has the "common good of all at heart" and a regard and concern for others makes a person a better leader. It was also deemed necessary for a leader to be able to understand the social undercurrents in the village. The ability to

assess very quickly the needs of the people, to be sensitive to every aspect of the situation, and to be able to analyze the situation holistically and critically were stated as essential. Among other qualities which were stressed as being important by the respondents are: acceptance among villagers, responsiveness to their concerns, and the ability to relate to them as equals while being immersed in their way of life. The majority of the respondents held the opinion that village-level leaders should be conscientious, cheerful, open, flexible and respectful of individual differences. Respecting the natural wisdom of the villagers, listening to them, making them feel that what they are saying is important, living with them in their homes, and sharing their life styles were also considered important. It was also stressed that a good leader is one who has the willingness to share and delegate responsibilities to others without reservation rather than doing everything himself. In keeping with the principles of Sarvodaya, almost everyone expressed the view that a person who develops the qualities of "*Metthā*" (respect for all life), "*Karuṇā*" (compassionate action), and "*Upekkhā*" (the ability to treat success and failures alike or equanimity) turns out to be a better leader.

Aside from these, the other qualities and skills that were highlighted are:

1. High level of discipline.
2. Innate organizational ability.
3. High level of education.
4. Balanced and humble personality.

5. Power associated with position.

6. Pleasant speech and courteousness.

7. Constructivity and creativity.

8. Being optimistic and hopeful without defeatist attitudes.

As a follow-up, a question was posed to the respondents as to how the leaders could be made competent enough to make the villagers feel strong about their capabilities. The responses indicated that this could be achieved by the following:

(a) Strengthening the dedication to work towards the betterment of the community.

(b) Increasing a sense of discipline, arising out of philosophical enlightenment (on Sarvodaya)

(c) Sharing the living patterns (styles and values) of the villagers (should not possess alien or "modernized" living patterns).

(d) Receiving feedback about his image in the village and advice as to how to improve it.

With regard to the actions that should be taken to motivate the leaders further, there was agreement on the part of the respondents that the focus should be on both moral and material incentives. As one of the respondents pointed out, "the present inflationary situation in Sri Lanka has reduced the allowance paid to these voluntary workers,[15] by 25% to 50%, in terms of purchasing power (when compared with what they could buy out of their income about 2 years back)". They have to struggle constantly for their families' basic needs. In addition, they must relate to the villagers' struggle in this regard. This poses a heavy constraint for the village-level leaders in per-

forming their roles. In order to provide a satisfactory solution to this issue, it was suggested that any steps towards increasing the allowances of the leaders and building the psychological environment in the village would be helpful and would arouse inner motivation and happiness.

Responsibilities of Leaders

The question "What functions and responsibilities should the leaders be given or not given?" was posed to the respondents. The responses revealed that the Sarvodaya leaders/coordinators do not have a clear understanding of the amount of work load which may be handled comfortably by village-level leaders. Those leaders/coordinators who are close to the field tend to think that village-level leaders should be given a work load which they could cope with, yet they too do not have a clear idea of the limitations of the position. Many felt that with the increasing popularity of the Sarvodaya Movement, the demand for Sarvodaya services has been greatly increased and that the leaders in the village are finding it difficult to cope with the increasing responsibilities. Suggestions have been made that the village-level leaders must be given specific task descriptions in order to achieve the maximum services from them.

It was revealed during the investigation in the district of Kandy, that currently an experiment is underway to determine the amount of tasks that could be handled by an individual village-level leader. Out of 300 Sarvodaya villages in Kandy, the survey has been

conducted on about five to ten selected villages. The method was to assign about five to ten households in a selected village to a single leader who is expected not only to guide the households in meeting the basic needs, but also to get involved in the process of meeting them. After the village-level leader completes the task, he will be assigned to another group of households. Based on the experience gained from this experiment, the regional organization expects to determine the tasks and responsibilities that could be handled by an individual village-level leader.

The other ideas that came to light from these explorations and which need serious consideration are as follows:

1. The village-level leaders cannot attend to all the ten basic needs.

2. The village-level leaders are working on a voluntary capacity and paid less; it is not reasonable to expect too much from them.

4. Responsibilities of the village-level leaders should be limited to the coordination of activities in the village.

5. Village-level leaders should coordinate the activities of the workers of specialized fields (e.g., if a certain area needs health services, village-level leaders should organize facilities to obtain the services of health workers and coordinate their activities).

6. The organizers of the Movement should become aware of capabilities of each individual village-level worker and give responsibilities accordingly.

7. Village-level leaders must focus more on spiritual development than material improvement in the villages.

Constraints

The investigation also focused on the question of constraints that village-level leaders face in performing their role in the villages. One of the major constraints highlighted was the divisions in the village due to jealousy against families which were coming up in the village. The majority of the respondents believed that in Sri Lanka, being a plural society, divisions and inequalities based on politics, caste, class, ethnicity and religion act as a major constraint against the efficient work of the Sarvodaya village-level leaders. Specifically, the divisions among the villagers on political lines makes it difficult for the people to work together for a common cause. Egocentricism and the difficulty in overcoming it has created disunity in the villages. Ignorance and apathy, which prevent the understanding of the benefits of collective action, is acting as a barrier against unity. Moreover, in certain villages too many organizations (sometimes with conflicting goals) divide the efforts of the villagers, a situation which acts as an obstacle for the village-level leaders to perform their roles efficiently.

Among the other factors highlighted during the interview process which act as constraints for efficient working of the village-level leaders were as follows:

1. Unbalanced personality of the village-level leaders.
2. Difficulty in overcoming social and class ties.
3. Village-level leader's caste status vis-à-vis the other castes in the village.

4. Opposition to Sarvodaya as a Movement.
5. Unwillingness to share power with others.
6. Lack of rewards from the top.
7. Lack of acceptance and appreciation from the village.
8. Inadequate economic benefits.
9. Economic difficulties and connected family problems.
10. Lack of funds for expenses to operate in the village.
11. Lack of problem solving ability.
12. Absence of a team spirit.
13. Too much personal involvement with certain families, damaging the confidence among the villagers.
14. Opposition from traditional leaders.

A closer look at the above constraints suggest that these can be grouped into different categories such as follows:

1. constraints related to class, caste, religion and politics
2. constraints related to group dynamics and leadership
3. constraints related to motivation
4. constraints related to communication
5. constraints related to apathy and ignorance

It seems that some of these constraints cannot be removed without bringing about structural changes in the society. Nevertheless, the use of certain training techniques such as crisis management, crisis resolution, leadership training techniques, group dynamics, motivation techniques, communication techniques and consciousness raising techniques may be helpful in handling some of these constraints.

Some respondents believed that greater use of motivational techniques and further preparation will enable leaders to overcome these limitations.

Another issue on which attention was focused during the interview process was the issue of drop-outs among the village-level leaders. There was agreement among the respondents that there is a reasonable rate of drop-outs. They believed that the drop-out rate, even though it is not as high as it can be expected from a program of this nature, is yet considerable. Respondents believed that there are many reasons for this. Some of the reasons are as follows:

1. Unwillingness to work for a long period of time in a voluntary capacity.
2. Limited material benefits to motivate the leaders when compared to prospects in the outside world.
3. Absence of tenure of service, social security and other economic benefits associated with it.
4. Low remunerations, without increments and promotions.
5. Leaving for other jobs or leaving to get further education.
6. Marriage - especially in the case of women.
7. Incompatability between the long-term goals of the Movement and the short-term expectations of the participants.
8. Expectations of quick results.
9. Inability to face problems/constraints.
10. Feeling of being misfits.
11. Decline in the acceptance by villagers.[16]

However, it was revealed that even though village-level leaders leave the Movement (due to economic and other reasons), yet majority of them still maintain their contacts and relationships with the Movement, which is a very unique and commendable action.

Possible Solutions

During the interview process, discussion was initiated to seek the viewpoint of the respondents about the possible ways and means that could be employed to overcome these stated constraints. Two major ideas expressed were that developing strategies which take objective realities of the village life into consideration, and developing proper attitudes and qualities among the village-level leaders (spreading over a long period of time), which will help them to face the challenge. Some respondents expressed the view that qualities necessary for collective living and proper attitudes should be fostered both among the villagers and leaders from their very young days through children's groups and youth groups. In case there is opposition in a village against Sarvodaya, the intervention should be very gradual and building the proper atmosphere should be attempted through the forum of "family gatherings."

It was often stated that the village-level leaders should have access to necessary resources, economic and otherwise, to be able to overcome most of the constraints. When it comes to a certain point in the development process, if resources are not forthcoming, development

activities have to be brought to a complete stop. A constant flow of resources is the obvious answer. Respondents also suggested that village-level leaders should

1. have complete freedom in making their own decisions,
2. be free from family and other external responsibilities, to be able to devote full time to community work,
3. be capable of self-evaluation and be ready to adjust accordingly.

A considerable number of respondents believed that when the village-level leaders encounter strong psychological, social and political resistance from the traditional leaders, a necessary tactic would be the "legitimization" of their role by winning over and persuading the majority of villagers to accept their leadership. Another view has been that when Sarvodaya leaders are no match to other leaders (traditional or otherwise) in the village, attempts should be made to raise the consciousness of both groups. The expected outcome would be to redefine and improve the qualities of leadership in Sarvodaya village-level leaders and to orient the other village leaders to accept the Sarvodaya path of development. It was also suggested that attempts should be made to mobilize and organize the people in the village to support Sarvodaya activities, leading to the legitimization of the Sarvodaya leadership in the village. Some respondents pointed out that Sarvodaya's intervention is not to build a power base in the village. Therefore, the view expressed was that the power and the position of the traditional leaders should be recognized and accepted by the Movement as long as basic value positions of the Sarvodaya are

not threatened. Attempts should be made to work in cooperation with the traditional leaders. Wherever necessary, the leading role in village activities should be given to them.

The village-level leaders should identify themselves with the villagers and absorb themselves into the community life, providing leadership in the daily life activities of the villagers. For example, as one of the respondents noted, if a villager is building an economical fireplace in his house, the leader should be able to integrate with the villager through that work opportunity and derive joy out of that participation in the improvement of his life. Providing leadership to a village is a process of living with the villagers. He has to find satisfaction through helping others achieve what they think is important. If the village-level leader identifies with the people and is able to perceive his or her own role in the struggle for economic progress, it will facilitate the performance of his role.

Role of Training

A question was posed to the respondents designed to explore whether the training programs can be instrumental in improving the performance of the village-level leaders and in developing ingenuity and dedication in them. There was a certain amount of consensus regarding the view that leaders cannot be made but can only be developed. Many expressed the view (though the writer does not fully agree) that qualities of leadership were inborn and partly shaped by

the environment in which one has been brought up. As the informants emphasized, it is difficult to turn out a leader from a person who has no leadership potentials. Certain leadership qualities must be inherent in a person and can only be developed through a training program. It was revealed that those who emerge as leaders in Sarvodaya activities are those who have some of these capabilities. The purpose of the training, as was stressed earlier, is to enhance and develop their personalities. The view shared by most respondents was that it is difficult to build ingenuity and dedication solely through training unless it comes originally from within. The observation was made by some respondents that some village-level leaders show ingenuity and dedication only until they become absorbed into the Movement. Once they are established, the qualities vanish.

At this point, it is interesting to include a comment made by the coordinator of the training programs at the central headquarters on the importance of training programs in preparing village-level leadership. He stated that, "Leaders are expected to emerge in various situations. Formal training is only a set of experiences organized in a certain pattern to enable the trainees to achieve certain outcomes. Leadership does not start at a definite time and end at a definite time. Leadership training is only injecting an input at a particular time. Once the leadership potential in a person is identified, sometimes better results could be achieved by making him work in a village setting rather than by exposing him or her to formal training programs."

## Sarvodaya Village-Level Leadership Training Program

Education and training, Sarvodaya believes, are the most effective instruments that can be used to change values, attitudes and ideologies of the people. Change in institutions and organizations can also be brought about through education and training. It is the principal means which can be used in mobilizing people and motivating them to participate in the decision-making process that affects their lives. Proceeding from these assumptions, Sarvodaya places major emphasis on its village-level leadership training program. Through this, the Movement intends to develop the potentials of the Sarvodaya leaders, improve their performance, change their values and attitudes and enhance their dedication and motivation. The training component of the Sarvodaya intends to provide village-level leaders with the following opportunities:

(a) to build an awareness of problems and to uncover potentials to solve them.

(b) to develop community leadership skills.

(c) to facilitate the planning of programs and finding resources.

(d) to develop skills and organizational patterns of economic usefulness.

(e) to train in social research, project formulation and management (EWP, 1976, p. 10).

## Components of Training

Training of local leadership in the Sarvodaya Movement consists of two major components: training of youth leaders and training of

Buddhist monks.[17] The focus in this dissertation is only on the training of youth leaders. Leadership training for youth consists of three programs: a short-term training program not exceeding two weeks, a second of three months' training, and a third lasting six months. Currently, the most prevalent type of training program for the village-level leaders is the two weeks training conducted at the local Gramodaya Centers. (Three month and six month training programs are rarely conducted at present.) Prior to the decentralization of training (about three years ago), these training programs were conducted either at the Sarvodaya Headquarters or Development Education Centers which were far away from the villages. Evidence gathered from years of research and evaluations conducted by the Sarvodaya Research Center and outside evaluations have enabled the Sarvodaya leadership to come to the consensus that better results could be achieved by the decentralization of training programs. As a result, two week training programs are conducted at present, in the (village-level) Gramodaya Centers. These are located in close proximity to the villages in which the leaders are expected to serve. This is a major shift from an institutional based training divorced from the village environment to a more field-based training in an environment with which the leaders should be familiar.

At present these training programs are organized by the Gramodaya Centers only when the need arises. Sarvodaya headquarters provide the necessary resources but does not exercise any control over budgetary matters or issue any directions.

Two Week Training Program

The two week training program is the most popular program at the present time, especially because of the urgent stress on locally-based training programs of short duration. As the coordinator of the training programs indicated, a vast expansion of this mode of training is expected in the future. As he indicated, there is a suggestion to build this training program in terms of "modules" to meet the back-log, but at the moment it is only an idea up in the air.

Specific objectives of the two week training program have been as follows:

(a) To enable the trainees to comprehend the Sarvodaya philosophy.

(b) To understand the village from a sociological perspective.

(c) To develop appropriate attitudes to be able to work in the village.

(d) To develop personality as an aspect of the awakening process.

(e) To be able to articulate the needs of the people.

(f) To be able to plan, organize, and implement community projects.

(g) To be of practical help to the community (e.g., helping a villager in making a smokeless fireplace, repairing a house).

Planning and Implementation

With the decentralization of the leadership training programs, the responsibility for determining objectives, contents and methods of training has shifted to the staff at the Gramodaya (village-based

Centers. The headquarters mainly provide the general guidance which the staff of the Gramodaya Centers may or may not follow. The local centers can act according to their own discretion. The staff at the Gramodaya Centers plan the training according to the resources available. The local staff can develop their own syllabi to suit the local needs. However, it was revealed that the syllabi sent by the headquarters are generally being used with little or no modifications. In planning training programs, often the organizers work according to their past experiences.

Trainers

The trainers are usually experienced Sarvodaya workers attached to the Sarvodaya Centers who have some specific skills to offer. They are highly variable and come from various social backgrounds with a variety of experiences. Their educational qualifications vary from post-primary level to university-level education. They range from instructors who have previously undergone a leadership training program to relatively untrained individuals. Some of the trainers are highly skilled in subject areas relevant to their fields and in methods of working with the people. Besides these trainers, university professors, school teachers, officers from various departments and ministries are often invited to these training programs for possible input.

Curriculum and Methods

The two-week training program for the village-level leaders contains an institutional component (classroom activities at the Gramodaya Center) and a field component (village practice or practical experience in the field). Training coordinators believe that this combination is important because what is learned in the classroom has to be put into practice in the field. The curriculum content for the institutional component generally includes topics such as Sarvodaya philosophy, organization of Shramadana Camps and community projects, problems in the rural areas, development of good relations and working with the people and other community leaders, knowledge of data gathering techniques, skills in formulating plans, and techniques of motivating people and eliciting their participation. Out of these topics, what should be included in a training program for a particular area is determined by the staff at the Gramodaya Center. In the institutional component, lectures have very often been used as the principal method of delivery. But experience has shown that it has not been very effective in training field workers. Therefore, the trend is changing in favour of other methods considered to be effective--participatory living, small group discussions, demonstrations, workshops, submitting written reports on specific topics and using audio-visual techniques.

As for the field component, the trainees spend three full days in a village in small groups, meeting villagers and observing situations critically. They also spend one and a half days in a Shramadana

camp where they receive an intensive training especially appropriate to the kind of problems they will have to face as village-level leaders. The whole training program is interspersed with "family gatherings" which provide a forum to discuss problems in the village and their experiences. The village-level leaders who leave the training program after undergoing the training are expected to possess the following:

(1) A general idea of the existing economic, socio-cultural and political life of the rural communities in which they are expected to serve.

(2) Skills in the selection of a village to be included in the development program and the identification of the most pressing needs in the village which need immediate attention.

(3) Skills to win the confidence of government officials as well as private organizations and to enlist their cooperation for the development of the village and coordination of these varied resources.

(4) Knowledge and skills in imparting the Sarvodaya philosophy to the ordinary villagers and getting their cooperation in awakening themselves to identify their own capabilities to work for the development of the village community (Sarvodaya: SS, 1975-76, p. 49).

Evaluation Procedures

Evaluation is one of the crucial elements in a training program of this nature (Kinsey, 1978, 1981). In the Sarvodaya Shramadana village-level leadership training program, evaluation procedures are said to be participatorily developed. During the training period, trainees meet regularly at the Gramodaya Center to assess the outcomes of the training program. Attempts have also been made to

institute evaluation procedures on an experimental basis to assess the performance of leaders in villages after their training. One such evaluation was conducted by the Palletalawinna Development Education Center on an experimental basis a few months ago, involving 63 leaders, selected out of 300 villages in 14 electorates in the Kandy District, in village settings. The evaluation was done by the Elders' Council and the full-time coordinators of the Center by using an evaluation form drafted by a special task force. Results of this evaluation indicated that only four could be regarded as effective leaders in the real sense of the word. Another evaluation was commissioned in the District of Kegalle by giving work points to the leaders on the amount of work done by them and determining the income of village-level leaders based on the number of work points. This procedure leads to contradictions as it conflicts with the Sarvodaya values of emphasizing moral incentives and discouraging material rewards.

Three-Month and Six-Month Training Programs

The three-month and six-month training programs were not available during the time of the field work of this study. However, these programs had been in existence a few months prior to the decentralization of training. These two training programs were conducted for the most part either in Development Education Centers or at the Sarvodaya Headquarters. These programs too contained a combination of institutional and field components. Though these programs were not being

conducted at the time there was no information as to whether a decision has been made to discontinue them completely. The situation prevalent at the time was to give more emphasis to the two-week training in order to clear the "backlog" created through fast expansion of Sarvodaya activities.

Three-month training program. In the three-month training program, because of its longer duration, the Movement has attempted to give emphasis to the following aspects:

(a) Formulation of realistic view of rural communities.

(b) Development of a sense of responsibility to the rural communities (which the village-level leaders have not achieved in their formal education).

(c) Training in public relations and development of an interest in social services.

(d) Building a sense of national awareness and cultural awakening.

(e) A realistic and practical experience and analytical knowledge in rural upliftment.

(f) Dedication to meaningful and constructive activities in the rural upliftment.[18]

The tradition has been to begin the three-month course with lectures on Sarvodaya philosophy, leading to a general orientation of the activities that follow. During the training period the trainees alternate between the theoretical training at the Center and practical training in the field. The institutional component consists of lectures and discussions on topics ranging from Sarvodaya philosophy, Buddhist philosophy, the village and its structure, social services,

social relations, community development, health, village and government services to program planning, management and implementation. The field component consists of village-level leaders visiting a farm to acquaint themselves with practical work, visiting their own villages with a set of questions and guides for analyzing the village situation, formulating a development plan for the village and discussing its feasibility and implementation in groups. At the end of the training, the village-level leaders are sent to their own villages and are encouraged to start Sarvodaya organizations and to get involved in Sarvodaya activities.

Six-month training program. In the six-month training program, the focus is to make the trainees aware of the following:

1. The causes that led to the socio-economic impoverishment of village and country.

2. The causes that led to the disintegration of the social community and the breakdown of cultural and traditional values.

3. The fact that economic regeneration of the village must be preceded by a restoration of social values and relationships within the village.

4. Inhibitions to development must be removed and scientific and technological skills appropriate to their situations must be learned.

5. The need for the community itself to take the initiative in making decisions and to participate in bringing about improvements in their lives (EWP, 1977, p. 9).

The ultimate purpose of the six-month leadership training program is to develop in them the skills and attitudes necessary to help the villagers tread the path of self-development. Once the trainee goes out into the field after training, he or she is expected to be an all-

purpose individual who remains in close touch with the village, works with the villagers in developing their own Sarvodaya programs, identifies specific forms of help that the Sarvodaya can offer to the village and can be expected to be generally available and helpful to the villagers. The trainees are seen as the means of awakening the latent capacities and the strengths of the people and of inspiring them to proceed in the direction of self-reliance and collective self-help.

Trainees for the six-month course are selected from those youth who have already devoted a considerable amount of time to the Sarvodaya activities. They are expected to have better motivation and clearer personal goals because they have already devoted much time to voluntary work and have had an opportunity to demonstrate their aptitudes and personal commitment.

The most important element of this training program is the field training component, where trainees are supposed to formulate a development plan, discuss its feasibility and application in group situations and also to assess the experiences encountered and problems faced as well as methods adopted to solve them during the field training stage. During this stage, trainees are also expected to create basic Sarvodaya units in the villages, such as youth groups and mothers' groups, or to improve the effectiveness of the existing groups.

## Evaluation of the Sarvodaya Village-Level Leadership Training Program

The training of village-level leaders is by far one of the most important activities carried out by the Sarvodaya Movement in terms of complexity, vividness and comprehensiveness. It offers both positive and negative lessons regarding the training of village-level leaders in the context of generating popular participation for self-reliant development. A comprehensive evaluation of the leadership program is essential to judge the nature of its results, specifically to determine whether the program has been instrumental in bringing about the desired outcomes. It should be mentioned at the outset that the present assessment is not a comprehensive or in-depth study to judge the effectiveness of the Sarvodaya village-level leadership training program. It is not intended to determine whether the objectives are being achieved or to provide the reason for the success or failure in terms of its effectiveness in bringing about the desired change in the rural population. This is not the major purpose of the study. However, an attempt has been made to highlight some of the present shortcomings of the training program as well as its successes and what steps should be taken to improve the program. This analysis is based on the information gathered from the individual and group interviews conducted during the field survey of the study, which took place during summer 1981, and followed up at the end of 1983 and beginning of 1984. Since this phase of the study was exploratory in nature and not a major focus of the study, no attempt was made to include a

statistically representative sample when conducting these interviews. It was limited to a few selected relevant members of the national staff and a few selected members of the field staff, plus a sample of experienced village-level leadership trainers. Information gathered from the interviews has been further supplemented by the writer's experience with previous research work with the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement and a survey of the literature on the training activities of the Movement and related research publications (which are, in fact, very limited) plus a content analysis of the syllabi of the Sarvodaya village-level leadership training program.

Evaluation

Much effort has gone into the development, organization and management of the village-level leadership training program on the part of the Sarvodaya Movement. These training programs have been producing a growing cadre of experienced and trained leaders who can reach the rural poor with a variety of effective tools and techniques. However, the writer has found it difficult to gather hard evidence to prove that the efforts have yielded positive results or have been able to affect the pace and direction of change in the rural communities to any appreciable degree, even though the efforts have been considerable.

A more flexible and decentralized approach is being followed now by the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in the conducting of its training programs. Because of the new approach, the Sarvodaya Shrama-

dana Movement has the opportunity to recruit village-level leaders locally and the training programs are carried out in the context of particular local settings. Before the decentralization of training (i.e., two years ago) the most common criticism was the stereotypical nature of the training program designed at the central headquarters and conducted unchanged at the Development Education Centers, away from the villages. It was regarded as a poor substitute for learning from local situations and for generating competencies at the local level. However, available evidence has not been sufficient to judge whether the training has become more effective in meeting its major goals after the decentralization. As one of the respondents pointed out, when the local initiative is stressed the quality suffers. It was revealed during the field investigation that new problems have surfaced as a result of the decentralization, such as:

1. The provision of residential facilities to trainees during the training period due to the lack of resources at the Gramodaya Centers (only 50 out of 350 Gramodaya Centers have even the very basic residential facilities for training).

2. Supply of food and traveling facilities.

Even under the new reforms, in imparting training, the Sarvodaya still faces many of its old problems. The most often quoted criticism against the Sarvodaya leadership training is expressed in these questions: "Is it feasible to assume that exposure to the philosophy of Sarvodaya through mostly formal lectures and other related activities imparted during the training will turn these rural youth into active leaders? Will they be the initiators of a self-reliant develop-

ment process in rural transformation?" It is appropriate here to quote from a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) research, "Sarvodaya workers experience considerable difficulty in assuming roles of catalyst, encourager and counselor and end up being doers, organizers and gatekeepers (Compton, 1979, p. 247). Another study has commented on the "uninspired and incompetent leadership on the part of the Sarvodaya workers." It further points out that "Sarvodaya workers have missed many opportunities to work with the villagers, to gain their trust and to lead them in the path of self-reliant development" (Ratnapala, 1978, p. 38). The obvious reason, as pointed out by many, is the inadequate and inbalanced training given to the leaders who are not attuned to the needs of the actual circumstances. Yet there are other questions such as "who might be equipped or qualified to provide village-level leaders with such skills and attitudes at their needed level of preparation." Even though constant efforts are being made by the organizers of the training programs to remedy the weaknesses it faces within the given resources, there are still many other weaknesses that need to be given attention. Some of these weaknesses are as follows:

1. The short duration of the training courses to enable the trainees to acquire adequate skills and knowledge.
2. Inability to find suitable instructors.
3. The highly formalized nature of the teaching methods adopted by instructors who are products of the formal education system.
4. Heavy emphasis on the academic component with less emphasis on the practical aspect of training.

5. Inadequate efforts to develop motivation in the trainees and dedication to work for and with rural fellow-beings.

6. Insufficient provision for effective follow-up on the trainees to judge the impact of the program.

It is apparent that most of these defects can be remedied if the basic approach is valid. The purpose of the training is to enable the village-level leaders to acquire basic knowledge and skills necessary for the performance of duties and responsibilities in working with the villagers, and more importantly, making villagers participate in their own development. Therefore, the training program should put emphasis on preparing leaders for this role. In other words, the emphasis should be on the skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary to involve villagers directly in identifying their needs, in finding and allocating resources to meet these needs and in initiating collective action to bring about change. Through its field component, the program must give training experience to the leaders to acquire the skills needed in the day-to-day contact with villagers and must show how to be perceptive and sensitive to individual attitudes and group dynamics. Direct contact of leaders with their own reality and its problems and an analysis of the constraints imposed on them by social structures is also of paramount importance. Thus, it is a challenging and demanding task for the program planners to organize its field component in order to provide these opportunities.

Even during the institution-based training stage, the methods used must be in consonant with the skills they need in the field. The teaching should be problem-oriented and experienced based. The teach-

ing method should also allow for the employment of many educational media and multiple combinations of versatile materials and means. The teaching style should be low key and informal. A good deal of training should be in the form of simulations and discussions. For the most part, a "hands-on" self-directed approach would prove useful. The participants should have the opportunities to experience group decision-making as a part of the training process. They should be able to set their own goals based on the Sarvodaya philosophy and monitor their own progress.

On the other hand, the design of the training should be tailored to the individual leader, building upon his/her experiences and present and potential capabilities, rather than assuming that all leaders are alike and must therefore start from the same point. The training method should also allow for continual self-evaluation on the part of the leader as he/she progresses through the cycle of his/her learning experience.

During the interview process, an attempt was made to solicit inputs/opinions from the respondents as to what the Sarvodaya should do if it is to undertake any revision of its leadership training program. Some of the opinions expressed appear below:

1. The initiative for the leadership training program (just like any other activity) should come from the villagers themselves. Never conduct anything unless the villagers want it.

2. Training activities should be conducted in the village itself. Institutional training is sometimes detrimental to a leader as it tends to cultivate an attitude of alienation. The centers for practical training should be the selected homes of the villagers.

3. Leadership training programs should be organized and conducted with the cooperation of other organizations in the village, rather than working as a separate establishment divorced from other institutions in the village.

4. Emphasis should be given to the practical aspects of the training which makes the involvement in real life problems of the villagers imperative.

5. Spiritual development should be a major focus in the training program.

6. The training programs should concentrate more on developing the mental readiness necessary for a cooperative way of life.

7. Training techniques should aim at generating motivation in leaders, empowering them and improving their decision-making power.

8. The trainees must be made to understand the objective realities of village life--various social groups in the village, family and social relationships, and attitudes and values. Village-level leaders should be able to see each situation in its own context.[19]

As is evident from this review, even though a number of innovative attempts have been made in the training programs, the training has created a major dilemma. This dilemma basically reflects a discrepancy or sometimes even a conflict between the level of socio-economic need and proposed changes to answer that need on the one hand, and the level of insight and techniques that are provided to the leader on the other. Perhaps Sarvodaya will need to think again about the remodeling of its leadership program as a way of methodically rectifying these deficiencies.

## Conclusion

From the two previous chapters it is clear that in most Third World countries village-level leadership is considered crucial to the rural development process. A dedicated and committed leadership, emerging from the villages, with roots among the people, able to raise the consciousness of the people and mobilize them for development activity, is what most countries aspire to have for their rural development programs. These expectations could be achieved, to a certain extent, only by promoting the emergence of a new leadership in rural areas. Under most circumstances, structural changes in the society itself are necessary to throw up a new leadership from the grassroots level.

Traditional leaders with patron-client relationships, with vested interests, and with religious, political or caste connections in rural areas are a reality in many developing countries. They are a major force to be reckoned with in any development program in Third World countries. Ignoring them or opposing them can be a major constraint to development. The Sarvodaya Movement, which believes in non-violent change, has attempted to face this problem by a "non-violent institutionalization of the dual system," which implies the symbolic/tacit acceptance of the leadership of the traditional leaders while promoting mass action through a new emerging leadership consisting primarily of educated young people. This dual strategy seems to have led to social peace, but available evidence does not suggest that it has helped to increase the pace of development.

In most countries, commitment to the political and religious philosophy/ideology of the country/project, having the welfare of the people at heart, possessing skills and knowledge, and being efficient are considered important for leadership roles at the village-level. In other words, both virtue and ability of village-level leaders are valued in most countries. This is what is implied by the concept of "red and expert" in the context of the People's Republic of China. In the case of Sarvodaya, the leaders are generally expected to be committed to the Sarvodaya philosophy because it means more initiative and dedication on the part of the village-level leaders. Equal value is given to the technical competence to plan and implement rural development projects. When an individual shows leadership abilities through Shramadana work, he/she is selected to be trained to enhance his/her commitment and at the same time to provide the necessary expertise. However, unlike the People's Republic of China, in the case of Sarvodaya, there is hardly any evidence to show that there is a contradiction between the two elements--virtue and ability.

An attempt was made by the writer to inquire into some of the basic issues confronting village-level leadership in all countries. The field research in Sri Lanka has generated valuable information--specifically, on issues such as: what special qualities make a village-level leader and what constraints they have to face in the villages. The evidence on these issues shows that there is much similarity between case studies presented in the literature review and the Sarvodaya Movement. There is consensus that concern for the welfare of the

people, ability to assess and analyze the problems of the people, skills in generating solutions from the people themselves, making people feel strong, being responsible and the ability to effect horizontal relationships are qualities considered highly important for leadership. Divisions among the people, individualism, lethargy, ignorance, disinterest, and sometimes the opposition from vested interests are among the major constraints the leaders have to face in villages.

Pertinent to the question of what responsibilities be given to a leader, evidence from the Sarvodaya case study and the review of literature provides valuable insights about the complexity of the issue and the limitations under which leaders have to operate. The research in Sri Lanka reveals that the Sarvodaya village-level leaders have been assigned too many responsibilities which they cannot handle comfortably. The evidence also suggests that their responsibilities should be limited to coordination activities. However, the available evidence is not sufficient to draw any general conclusions as to what their responsibilities should be. This implies that further research needs to be done on this issue. Several attempts made by the research assistant to gain access to the results of the study conducted by the Sarvodaya in the District of Kandy, which would help to address this specific issue, were not successful.

What incentives are important for village-level leaders to function effectively in rural areas have been a recurrent problem facing most less developing countries. In Western countries more than

two hundred studies have been done on the problem of incentives. People's Republic of China has grappled with this question for the last thirty years, moving back and forth from moral to material incentives. At one time material incentives were regarded in the People's Republic of China "as golden chains that drag people to the capitalist path." One of the major items of the internal debate of the Cuban government during the 1960s was focused on the question of incentives. Yet, no conclusive answers have evolved out of these studies or debates. The attempt made by the writer to address this question revealed that both moral and material incentives are important for village-level leaders to function efficiently. While moral incentives are important to inspire dedication and commitment, material incentives are important to enable the leaders to provide themselves with a means of livelihood. As to what should be the balance between these two types of incentives is an issue which needs more evidence before conclusions can be reached. One of the things that was evident in the context of Sarvodaya was the need for more material incentives for the village-level workers--a higher allowance to make ends meet, and enough time to devote to community work.

Another issue, somewhat related to the issue of incentives, is the high drop-out rate among the Sarvodaya volunteers. In the case of the People's Republic of China, drop out of leaders was mainly attributed to change in the class nature of the leaders as a result of receiving land and draft animals. In Tanzania it was mainly due to the lack of sufficient income. In Sri Lanka various factors such as

absence of tenure, marriage and inability to face problems have contributed to the rise in the drop-out rate. However, the major reason seems to be the very low level of remuneration.

On the question of training it was revealed that leadership is not viewed as something that starts at a definite time and ends at a definite time and, therefore, everyone is not suitable for leadership roles. The assumption is: individuals who aspire to become leaders or are selected for leadership roles should possess some leadership qualities prior to their becoming leaders. The training could only enhance, refine and reinforce whatever leadership qualities they already possess. It was also revealed that more than institutional training, practical work in a village setting is considered important to develop better leadership qualities and skills.

The evaluation of the training programs revealed that although the Sarvodaya Movement has a rich body of concrete experiences, there are still serious missing elements which the Sarvodaya would have to provide before it can give a true transformation to the rural areas in more dynamic terms. A more systematic effort at dealing with strategic questions in all their complexity within its ideological framework is necessary. These are sometimes complex issues/dilemmas to which there are no simple answers. Yet there are issues to which Sarvodaya could provide solutions by properly utilizing its efforts in a more organized way. Preparing its frontline workers to perform their role more adequately is one such issue. The present study is an effort to address this issue.

In this chapter the writer has analyzed the present status of the village-level leadership training program of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in a very comprehensive manner, elaborating upon the issues it confronts, the nature of the present training activities and an evaluation of the training process. The final conclusion is that even though the Sarvodaya Movement has incurred considerable efforts to improve the quality of the training programs and as a result the present training programs contain positive elements, the training has been, in certain ways, irrelevant. The next chapter is devoted to addressing this need. In that chapter, the writer, using valid instruments, has systematically assessed and duly operationalized the training needs of the village-level leaders of the Movement, in order to form a framework that could be used as valuable guidelines in developing appropriate training programs.

# C H A P T E R VII

## AN ASSESSMENT AND OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE TRAINING NEEDS OF THE SARVODAYA VILLAGE-LEVEL LEADERS

Sarvodaya assumes that a successful village-level leadership should be rich in the appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to elicit the active participation of the villagers in their own development. As pointed out in the earlier chapter, the Sarvodaya Movement places major emphasis on its leadership training component in order to provide the necessary competence to village-level leaders in performing their role. As already mentioned, Sarvodaya has incurred considerable effort to improve the quality of the training program, and as a result, the present training program contains many positive elements. However, it could be categorically stated from the evidence gathered, as already discussed in the earlier chapter, that the training program has been inadequate and irrelevant in many ways to meet the challenges it faces. It needs substantial improvement to make it more effective in providing the services expected from it.

This chapter is built on the major premise that in order to address this need, specific training needs of the village-level leaders, vis-à-vis the role expected from them, must be methodically ascertained and should be duly operationalized, devising valid instru-

ments. It is only through such an attempt that comprehensive training programs for village-level leaders could be properly designed and operated. Clearly, village-level leaders' needs ought to be among the basic criteria for designing training programs for them. No longer is it pedagogically right or helpful for program planners of the Sarvodaya Movement to assume that they know the specific needs of the village-level leaders to design training programs solely on these assumptions. This has been the major cause for the present inadequacy and irrelevancy of the training programs. Therefore, the present chapter focuses firstly, on the assessment of the training needs of the Sarvodaya village-level leaders and prioritizing them, and secondly, on operationalization of the prioritized needs in order to provide a valid framework for program developers in designing appropriate programs in consonant with the actual needs as perceived by the village-level leaders. Such an exercise was assumed imperative in the context of the present and future needs of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

## Assessment of Training Needs of Village-Level Leaders

Many assessment models have been developed and implemented over the past thirty years in many countries, more specifically in the United States of America. The writer has researched the vast field of literature on needs assessment and has obtained valuable ideas from different methods in order to devise a model which could be used to assess the training needs of village-level leaders attached to the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement. However, in devising a design for

this study, the writer has particularly relied on the methodology designed by Coffin and Hutchinson, but has modified it to a considerable degree to suit the context of the Sri Lankan culture, as well as the nature of the specific study. It should be mentioned that needs assessment studies to ascertain the specific needs of such frontline workers were practically nonexistent in the vast literature explored. The writer conducted a literature search using ERIC (Education Resource Information Center, developed by the National Institute of Education), Dissertation Abstracts International, the card catalog and various periodical indexes and was not able to discover a single instance other than an indirectly related case or two.

The needs analysis methodology, which has been used in this study, is a methodology developed by Dr. Thomas Hutchinson of the University of Massachusetts and Dr. Richard T. Coffin, of Ohio State University. This is considered to be the most explicit, complex and most useful methodology of all found in the literature, mostly because of its emphasis on the definitions of needs based on exact responses of the population directly concerned which make it potentially more useful.

The full set of rules and procedures of this methodology is a complex document with hundreds of steps, including many alternatives, which covers 99 typewritten pages. In its simplest form it covers two pages and 34 steps.[20] These 34 steps of the methodology, along with a diagramic representation of the major steps is presented in the appendix.

The Needs Analysis Methodology as designed by Hutchinson/Coffing contains ten major phases. They are: preparation, contract negotiation, planning, determining, measuring, evaluation of the needs analysis and revising processes. This methodology had to be modified to a considerable degree to suit the nature of Sri Lankan culture[21] and its social process. Such modifications were further needed due to the limited nature of the time and other resources available, and also due to the nature of the research process determined by the goal of the study. As a result, this study was confined to two major phases--determining and defining.

## Implementation of the Study

The writer got the chance to discuss the feasibility of implementing the study and its importance in the context of the Sarvodaya Leadership Training Program, when the President of the Sarvodaya Movement visited the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts in March of 1981. During this meeting, the writer made it clear that (other than fulfilling the personal academic requirements of the writer) the purpose of the needs analysis is to give the planners of the Sarvodaya Leadership Training Program some valuable information which they could use in designing the training models. The writer also pointed out that by following the particular Needs Assessment Methodology, the utility of the information it provides could be maximized. At this meeting, the design of the research process was also discussed with the President, and his support was secured.

The basic needs analysis question that this specific methodology addresses is "who needs what, as defined by whom?" This contains the three components of needer, need and definer. The "who" or needer component is included because a needs analysis must be focused on the needs of specific individuals or groups. The "what" or need component is included because needs analysis must be focused on the types or categories of the needs about which data are required. The third component, "as defined by whom," refers to the necessity for identifying the individuals or the group of people who should define the needer's needs. Since different people define needs differently, it is often of crucial importance who provides the information.[22]

In this particular case, the basic needs analysis question was "village level-leaders' needs for training in leadership for participatory rural development."

The field research pertaining to the needs assessment was carried out in Sri Lanka, by the research assistant, on two major sites--at Sarvodaya Headquarters in Moratuwa and Palletalavinna Development Education Center in Kandy (one of the Development Education Centers of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement). As soon as the research assistant arrived in Sri Lanka, the President of the Sarvodaya Movement was contacted and the environment was set for the needs analysis to take place. As the first step, the President of the Movement was asked for a list of individuals who could best define

the training needs of the Sarvodaya village-level leaders. The President responded by giving specific names of some program staff whom he respected as being knowledgeable individuals who could provide specific definitions of the needs that the village-level leaders might have. After consulting the President, the list was further supplemented by the researcher by including other persons related to the training program who could provide additional perspectives to the definition process. In preparing the final list of definers, the researcher was very careful to include a good spread of most suitable definers because such a step seemed crucial to the validity, reliability and utility of data. The final list of fifteen definers who participated in the definition process included the following:

(a) Vice President of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

(b) Director of the Education Unit at the Sarvodaya Headquarters.

(c) Five coordinators of different projects who had direct contacts with the leaders in different ways.

(d) Three coordinators of the village-level leadership training program.

(e) Five village-level leaders who had completed the training and were working in the villages.

The researcher explained the purpose of the needs analysis and the methodology to be applied and outlined the procedures to be used to different categories of definers and on some occasions to some definers individually, and requested their personal cooperation.

The definitional problem, according to the specific needs analysis methodology, is essentially one of obtaining an explicit

description of what the definers imagine would be present or would be happening if the needers' needs were completely fulfilled. The definers thus described as specifically as possible "what should be." According to the methodology, each definer was given the "stimulus question" which asked each definer to imagine (an ideal situation), and in that situation to imagine that (Needer's) needs (for type of needs being defined) are fully met. Visualizing this situation, the definers were expected to write down everything they thought would indicate that the specific needs of the needers were being met. In this particular case, the fifteen definers who showed the willingness to participate in the needs definition were given the following "stimulus question" designed by the writer:

"Imagine that you are a trainer in a training program that trains village-level leaders for their role in Sarvodaya villages. In that situation, village-level leaders' needs for skills and competencies for their leadership role are fully met. As you observe that situation, what are all the things you see in the situation that indicate to you that village-level leaders' needs for training are being fully met?"

This exercise was administered to all the 15 definers on the two major sites, more or less individually, within a period of two weeks. All the lists in which their responses were noted were carefully correlated into individual attributes (components) of the general need. Seventy-five (alternatives) items were generated from these need statements received from the participants in the sample.

These were further supplemented by ten other definitions devised from an earlier simulated exercise carried out by the writer on the same needs analysis question at the Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts. (Such additions were allowed by the methodology; they added extra perspectives to the question/situation and enriched the survey instrument developed later.) These ten definitions were the top ranked definitions in that simulated exercise carried out with the participation of fifteen other definers, who had the experience as being planners, trainers and advisors of similar projects in different countries in the Third World.[23]

These attributes/need definitions were compiled into a list and were converted into a survey instrument, containing 85 need definitions. The following is the survey instrument formulated by the researcher after compiling all the responses. This survey instrument was administered to twelve of the definers who responded to the first stimulus question and also to an additional sample of four respondents, (all of whom were highly active village-level leaders attached to the Sarvodaya villages). The researcher asked the definers to go through the list carefully and check the items which indicated that the needs are being fully met. The survey instrument appears below.

## THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Imagine that you are a trainer in a training program which trains village-level leaders for leadership roles in the Sarvodaya villages. Read each item in the list given below. If the item is

something that village-level leaders need, please place a check mark in the space provided.

Thank you.

1. Ability to work on a team.
2. Ability in solving problems.
3. Possession of skills in self-evaluation.
4. Ability to diagnose skills in rural people and improve them.
5. Understanding about the "meaning of development" and exposure to different methods of development.
6. Possession of techniques in understanding the social, political, economic, physical, cultural and spiritual environment of a village.
7. Ability to understand attitudes, values, habits/customs and disparities in a village.
8. Understanding about the Ten Basic Human Needs and ways of meeting them.
9. Skills in planning and managing development projects in order to solve problems in a village.
10. Ability to work with people and motivate them.
11. Knowledge about the reasons for the failures in development projects.
12. Skills in changing the attitudes and techniques within an organization.
13. Ability to make logical decisions.
14. Creative skills.
15. Skills in living in a group.
16. Skills in organizing and managing.
17. Skills in doing things logically and critically.
18. Ability to respect the views of others.

19. Ability to think clearly in crisis situations.

20. Skills in reaching decisions through discussion and dialogue.

21. Skills in arriving at quick solutions.

22. Techniques in winning the cooperation of the villagers.

23. Skills in developing an interest in serving the public.

24. Ability to discipline oneself.

25. Ability to organize dispersed government and other services.

26. Ability to follow through work to the finish.

27. Ability to fulfill a given responsibility.

28. Ability to work through one's own effort.

29. Skills in diagnosing the leadership situation in a village and developing appropriate relationships.

30. Ability to learn from the experiences of the villagers, while living among them.

31. Ability to obtain solutions from the villagers for their own problems.

32. Ability to understand oneself through self-evaluation.

33. Ability to develop one's personality accordingly.

34. Ability to understand others through thinking clearly about oneself.

35. Knowledge about the world's past and present social, political and cultural achievements (through lectures).

36. Knowledge about people who have risen into leadership positions.

37. Ability to accept success and failures with equanimity.

38. Ability to do what is required presently through the experience gained from the past and also plan for the future accordingly.

39. Listening skills.

40. Ability to make decisions as a team.

41. Skills in and knowledge of organizing rural people.

42. Ability to get villagers involved in developing their own development plans.

43. Skills in broadening support from governmental and non-governmental institutions without being dependent.

44. Skills in involving people of every age group in rural development activities.

45. Skills in working according to villagers' actual needs rather than one's own interpretation of their needs.

46. Skills in planning village-level development projects and getting the cooperation of the villagers to accomplish them.

47. Skills in getting the cooperation of the government towards small-scale development work.

48. Skills in utilizing local resources in village development programs.

49. Skills in acquainting mass media with the village and getting maximum use of it.

50. Ability to get maximum benefit out of minimum resources.

51. Ability to assess time and resources in meeting specific needs.

52. Skills in reaching unbiased decisions.

53. Techniques in helping the villagers to stand on their own feet.

54. Skills in putting the Sarvodaya concept of village development into action.

55. Ability to share one's own powers and responsibilities with others.

56. Techniques in developing a balanced personality.

57. Ability to identify people's needs and assess them correctly.

58. Ability to work impartially in the villages that are divided (into factions).

59. Skills in living according to Sarvodaya philosophy.

60. Skills in teaching the villagers the Sarvodaya philosophy during different group discussions, work camps, etc.

61. Skills in organizing Shramadana camps.

62. Ability to give credit, respect and recognition to others.

63. Possession of attitudes such as respect and belief in the competence and importance of the villagers' experiences, desires and perceptions of their own development.

64. Ability to help the villagers to articulate their own developmental needs and to help them to transform such needs into project objectives.

65. Ability to understand the nature of social, economic, political, cultural and psychological factors affecting rural development.

66. Skills in developing simple exercises which involve the villagers in problem definition, solution generation, etc.

67. Possession of sympathetic, humane and non-hierarchical attitudes towards the villagers.

68. Skills in developing interpersonal relationships.

69. Ability to involve powerful figures in the government or elsewhere in village activities without annoying them or being dependent on them.

Possession of the following qualities:

70. Non-violence.

71. Humility.

72. Self-discipline.

73. Sacrifice.

74. Consistency.

75. Impartiality.

76. Patience.

77. Truthfulness.

78. Persistence.

79. Loving kindness.

80. Loyalty to the organization (Sarvodaya).

81. Cheerfulness and warmth.

82. Self-insight.

83. Pleasant speech.

84. Compassionate action.

85. Ability to be an example of desirable behavior.

After completing the above, the researcher asked the definers to go back over the list they had checked and to circle the numbers of the ten most important needs.

As the next step, the researcher tabulated the results by utilizing one point for every item checked and ten points for every item circled (see appendix for tabulated results). The list of the top ten prioritized items as designated by the tabulation appears below.

| WEIGHT | | ITEM |
|---|---|---|
| 66 | #31 | Ability to obtain solutions from the villagers for their own problems. |
| 57 | #25 | Ability to organize dispersed government and other services. |

| WEIGHT | | ITEM |
|---|---|---|
| 45 | # 6 | Possession of techniques in understanding the social, political, economic, physical, cultural and spiritual environment of a village. |
| 45 | #29 | Skills in diagnosing the leadership in a village and developing appropriate relationships. |
| 36 | #67 | Possession of sympathetic, humane and non-hierarchical attitudes towards the villagers. |
| 35 | #85 | Ability to be an example of desirable behavior. |
| 31 | # 7 | Ability to understand attitudes, values, habits/customs and disparities in a village. |
| 28 | #16 | Skills in organizing and managing. |
| 27 | #15 | Skills in living in a group. |
| 25 | #59 | Skills in living according to Sarvodaya philosophy. |

## Operationalization of the Prioritized Items

The second major phase of the research design was the operationalization of the ten prioritized items obtained from the needs analysis. This was done in order to elicit clear statements about the most important need definitions as given by the participants. This was considered essential in order to provide more useful and valid information regarding important skills, knowledge and attitudes that village-level leaders should possess to enable them to perform their role more effectively and efficiently. Such a process was considered highly useful for program planners/curriculum developers to identify the kind of training content in planning village-level leadership training programs. The operationalization process was assumed vital, since other-

wise, the program developers would probably address themselves to objectives which they themselves would have to formulate, which are not necessarily congruent with the needs as the person in the field sees them. The major assumption underlying the operationalization process is that the resulting statements would enable further clarification of the needs of the village-level leaders in order to reveal its directly observable or more clearly defined components. These statements can then be used as the basic framework for developing curriculum in the leadership training program. In short, it lays the ground plan for such program development.

This second major phase was undertaken by using a modified version of the "Self-Instructional Module for Learning the Hutchinson Method of Operationalizing a Goal or Intent," developed by Richard T. Coffing, Thomas E. Hutchinson, James B. Thomann and Richard C. Allan at the School of Education, University of Massachusetts in June 1971. (See Appendix) This is a specific application of a new method developed by Dr. Thomas E. Hutchinson, which is called "Operationalization of Fuzzy Concepts." This module is a complex process consisting of five major steps, and for this phase of the study, only the first step was used. This again was determined by the limited nature of time and other resources and also the conditions of the research process.

The operationalization process was time-consuming and the definers had very little time to devote to this type of activity. When the definers were not available, the other best group of participants to operationalize the items would have been the rural development

workers attached to the Department of Rural Development in Sri Lanka. But due to procedural and other difficulties it was not possible to have access to them at the time. The next best option was to get the cooperation of the rural development workers who were attached to the Sarvodaya Research Institute at Ratmalana. The problem was discussed with the President and the leading members of the Sarvodaya Movement and an attempt was made to get their support for this option. The research assistant was fortunate in securing the full cooperation of the Research Institute for the involvement of the rural development workers in the operationalizing process.

This second major phase took place at the Sarvodaya Research Institute, Ratmalana in Sri Lanka. This research process was carried out in the form of "sit-down sessions" in which all the participants could respond to the oral instructions of the research assistant. Fifteen definers participated in this phase of the research, out of whom seven were males and eight females. It should be noted that this group of participants was a completely different group from the definers who participated in the earlier process. They were rural development workers who were employed as research assistants in the Sarvodaya Research Institute at Ratmalana, Sri Lanka. The experience they had in working at the grassroots level in the Sarvodaya villages, as well as other villages in Sri Lanka, ranged from five years to a few months. Three of the participants had a Baccalaureate degree in sociology from the University of Vidyodaya in Sri Lanka, but their experience in working at the grassroots level was considered more

vital in the context of the research process. Almost all the participants had formal educational qualifications above the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) Examination. Five "sit-down sessions" were conducted at the rate of two sessions each day to cover the operationalization of all the ten prioritized items. These sessions were conducted in three different batches of participants, when the opportunity provided, as they rotated back and forth between their duties in the field and the research center. This process was spread over a period of three weeks.

At the beginning of each group session, the research assistant explained the purpose of the exercise and the methodology to be applied to the group. As a first step, the participants were given a written statement of the first prioritized item from the earlier tabulation of the need definitions. The following is the written statement given to the first batch of participants:

"Ability to obtain solutions from the villagers for their own problems."

After reading the written statement, they were asked to construct in their mind a hypothetical situation which should be as real and as complete as possible--a complete environment. They were advised that it should not be too specific but a general hypothetical situation. In this hypothetical situation the participants were asked to visualize in their mind a village-level leader who is capable of obtaining solutions from the villagers for their own problems.

They were told by the research assistant that "this leader is the best that you can imagine and is capable of obtaining solutions from the villagers for their own problems."

The participants were asked to examine the hypothetical situation, to observe it very carefully and to write down all the things that he/she could see about that leader, about his interaction with other people and the environment and all the things indicating that the above quality was present, that the leader really was capable of obtaining solutions from the villagers for their own problems. The participants were advised to write down the items in a list, not putting down just one or two things that came to mind, but getting everything possible by exhausting the hypothetical situation to the ultimate degree. This process was repeated for all the prioritized items in the earlier needs analysis with different groups of participants. At the end of the complete process, the researcher very carefully went through each list and collected all the dimensions of each prioritized item in separate lists, after checking for duplications and irrelevant items. The purpose of the whole operationalization procedure was to identify all the dimensions that the researcher could get for the "fuzzy concept." This procedure helped to make the list of dimensions as complete as possible. This process provided a very good approximation of the number of dimensions that the researcher could have.

At the end of the entire exercise, the researcher was able to have a very long, very comprehensive, and very complete approximation

of the total number of specific skills expressed in behavior events and states, which gave an indication of the most important skills that should be included in a training program for village-level leaders.

The ten completed lists of dimensions received in operationalizing each prioritized item appears below.

I. Ability to Obtain Solutions from the Villagers for Their Own Problems.

(1) Ability to value and respect the knowledge and experience of the villagers.

(2) Ability to help the villagers to be critically conscious about their reality and environment.

(3) Knowledge about the causes that led to the disintegration of the indigenous social system and the breakdown of traditional cultural values.

(4) Ability to diagnose the cause for inhibitions to development and to work towards their removal.

(5) Ability to motivate the villagers to be self-reliant rather than depending on the help of the government.

(6) Ability to encourage the villagers to handle power constructively.

(7) Ability to create a feeling of being empowered rather than being dependent.

(8) Ability to help the villagers to become conscious of their rights and responsibilities as members of a free society.

(9) Ability to encourage cooperation and not competition.

(10) Ability to inspire confidence and promote an attitude of exploration among villagers.

(11) Ability to help the villagers to overcome fears and feelings of suppression.

(12) Ability to develop simple exercises which involve the villagers in problem definition, solution generation, etc.

(13) Ability to help villagers to grasp the problems and prioritize them.

(14) Ability to build specific work groups around interests in order to work towards their solutions.

(15) Ability to encourage constant communication and feedback.

(16) Ability to direct villagers in obtaining information for use in decision making and taking actions.

(17) Ability to motivate the villagers to take the initiative in making decisions.

(18) Ability to help villagers to prepare project plans and time schedules for such plans.

(19) Ability to help the villagers to articulate their rural development needs and formulate these needs into program objectives.

(20) Ability to help the villagers to develop realistic goals.

(21) Ability to help the villagers to consider alternative strategies for accomplishing a goal.

(22) Ability to help the villagers to ascertain the constraints in a given task.

(23) Ability to guide the villagers with the necessary skills and techniques in assessing the capital, material and other resources to meet the perceived needs.

(24) Ability to guide the villagers in organizing feasible projects in relation to real resources--human, financial and natural.

(25) Ability to motivate villagers in planning and conducting activities.

(26) Ability to help the villagers in evaluating their progress.

(27) Ability to help the villagers to examine, clarify and test the consequences of their actions.

II. Ability to Organize Dispersed Government and Other Services.

(1) Knowledge about all the services that are available for the villager and how to get maximum use out of them (e.g., agricultural services, educational services, cultural services and services such as World Hunger, Village Awakening, etc.)

(2) Ability to assess and prioritize the common needs in the village such as the need for bathing wells, roads, lavatories, etc., and to determine the ways and means of meeting them.

(3) Skills and competence in searching for non-government funding sources for the needed help.

(4) Knowledge about other philanthropic organizations and individuals as help givers.

(5) Ability to seek out and approach the appropriate sources of funding.

(6) Knowledge of the rules and regulations concerning relevant services.

(7) Knowledge of how to do feasibility studies.

(8) Ability to organize the services on a fair basis without allowing the influential section of the village to get maximum benefit.

(9) Ability to state positions clearly and firmly.

(10) Skills in dealing and negotiating with bureaucracies and institutions.

(11) Skills in public relations.

(12) Ability not to be submissive to authorities.

(13) Ability to sense hidden assumptions and biases.

(14) Ability to be persistent and not to be prepared to accept all excuses and regulations.

III. Possession of Techniques in Understanding the Social, Political, Economic, Cultural and Spiritual Environment of the Village.

(1) Ability to assess the nature of the physical, economic, political and other forces that influence the village and the nature of the social values that are being safeguarded, destroyed or changed due to such influences.

(2) Knowledge of the past and present changes in the socio-economic life of the village.

(3) Ability to study the needs of the village and different actions/methods taken so far to fulfill these needs.

(4) Skills in assessing the strengths of the different resources in the socio-economic fabric within the village.

(5) Knowledge about the existing local groups and organizations.

(6) Skills in diagnosing the resources/organizations that meet the socio-economic and cultural needs of the village.

(7) Ability to work closely with different organizations in the village in order to acquire a broad knowledge of their objectives.

(8) Skills in developing a non-conflicting role when working closely with the organizations which have different goals.

(9) Ability to develop a very close rapport with the different informal leaders in the village, such as the Headmaster/teacher attached to the village school, the priest in the temple, the Aurvedic physician, the elderly leaders and the youth leaders.

(10) Ability to organize formal group discussions and interviews with the formal and informal leaders in the village (and others) on the political, social and cultural life of the village.

(11) Ability to organize different committees or specific task groups on these different aspects under the leadership of informal "experts" in order to gather information.

(12) Skills in learning the social and cultural pattern of the village by living among the villagers.

(13) Ability to learn the organizational pattern of the different aspects of village life by becoming a close observer.

(14) Ability to learn the cultural and social lifestyle of the villagers by participating in different activities such as wedding ceremonies, funerals, religious ceremonies, etc.

(15) Ability to learn about the different social, political and cultural patterns and attitudes of the villagers and their organizations by being very close to the village and through constant interaction (and conversations) with them.

(16) Knowledge of different techniques in collecting information/data about the existing local resources and analyzing them.

(17) Skills in field surveys.

(18) Skills in using relevant resources (both human and non-human) in obtaining information.

(19) Skills in using appropriate instruments in doing community surveys (e.g., interviews, questionnaires, recording skills, etc.).

IV. Skills in Diagnosing the Leadership in a Village and Developing Appropriate Relationships.

(1) Knowledge about various roles that different individuals perform within a community.

(2) Ability to share power and responsibilities with other leaders.

(3) Knowledge about ways and means of identifying villagers who have the potentials of being village leaders.

(4) Ability to understand the relationships between the organizational structure, environment and leadership.

(5) Ability to understand the value of community leaders and work towards safeguarding their status in the village.

(6) Ability to seek direct or indirect involvement of all village leaders and interest groups in all activities without neglecting any individual, group or constituency.

(7) Ability to be fair and just, not favouring any one leader at the expense of any rival leader.

(8) Ability to give as much attention to leaders who do not sympathize with one's intentions as to those who do.

(9) Ability to work with all factions in the village.

(10) Ability to determine in what situation a given leadership style is most effective.

(11) Skills in organizing an advisory committee of keen and influential local leaders.

V. Possession of Sympathetic, Humane and Non-hierarchical Attitudes Towards the Villagers.

(1) Lack of any feelings of superiority.

(2) Ability to realize that leadership is not a status symbol but an opportunity to serve others.

(3) Ability to respect and believe in each person's value as a human being.

(4) Ability to respect the value patterns of the villagers.

(5) Ability to be humble, committed, dedicated, warm and friendly.

(6) Ability to cultivate reverence, humility and contentment.

(7) Ability to give necessary credit to those who deserve it.

(8) Ability to conform with the socio-cultural value pattern of the villagers.

(9) Ability to be a sociologist in order to understand the needs of a villager and a psychologist in order to understand the feelings of a villager.

(10) Ability to sense the distress situations in a village and to possess an urge to help those who are in need.

(11) Ability to treat all the villagers impartially, whatever their differences are in caste, class or social groupings.

VI. Ability To Be An Example of Desirable Behavior.

(1) Ability to possess a sense of responsibility to the rural communities.

(2) Ability to respect the views of others.

(3) Ability to lead a simple life.

(4) Ability to exhibit leadership qualities through his/her own actions.

(5) Ability to raise the level of ideological understanding and level of commitment.

(6) Ability to possess a high moral character not associated with any form of socially condemned behavior.

(7) Ability to act with dedication which is an outcome of an inner need and not a result of an obedience to authority or a need for self-actualization.

(8) Ability to diagnose and understand the attitudinal differences between villagers and act accordingly.

(9) Ability to work within the cultural and social traditions of the village society.

(10) Ability to overcome opposition from authorities.

(11) Ability to be patient but persistent with difficulties and delays.

(12) Ability to be critical, unbiased, and able and willing to confront issues.

(13) Ability to be reliable, consistent and honest.

(14) Ability to be friendly, responsive and unassuming.

(15) Ability to render non-threatening and constructive criticism.

(16) Ability to involve oneself in the self-criticism and self-evaluation of one's own activities.

(17) Ability to be responsive to criticism.

(18) Ability to speak intelligently and wisely.

(19) Ability to be self-disciplined and well-mannered.

(20) Ability to consider his/her mission as being essentially educative.

(21) Ability to consider his/her mission as being highly creative.

VII. Ability to Understand Attitudes, Values, Habits and Disparities in a Village.

(1) Knowledge of places where villagers frequently gather.

(2) Ability to determine the values, attitudes, habits and disparities through dialogue and discussions and by listening and observing closely.

(3) Skills in developing the necessary rapport to get the villagers to reveal their social life/customs.

(4) Ability to develop a knowledge of the attitudes, values, habits and disparities in a village through participating in activities such as (a) Family gatherings; (b) Dance, ballet and other forms of variety entertainment; (c) Sports and other competitions; (d) Exhibitions; (e) Shramadana Camps

(5) Knowledge of the social values that the villagers safeguard with the greatest care.

(6) Ability to understand the underlying forces that determine the values of the people.

(7) Ability to understand the conflicts, differences and similarities between the young and the old in the village society.

(8) Ability to assess correctly external influences on the attitudinal and social values of the villagers.

(9) Ability to assess correctly the speed at which and the manner in which villagers respond to those external forces.

(10) Ability to evaluate the values attached to different behavioral patterns of the villagers.

VIII. Skills in Organizing and Managing.

(1) Ability to develop a good rapport with the villagers.

(2) Ability to demonstrate that one is not working for the people but with the people.

(3) Skills in involving villagers in group work/community projects.

(4) Ability to share the experiences in organizing with the villagers.

(5) Ability to seek clarification of values, ideas and information.

(6) Ability to encourage constant communication and feedback.

(7) Ability to encourage openness, exploration and objectivity.

(8) Ability to take responsibility for actions.

(9) Ability to convince the villagers through right examples about the unwanted social disparities in the village.

(10) Skills in conducting meetings.

(11) Skills in initiating discussions (e.g., how to ask questions, handle questions to which the leader has no answer, guide discussions without imposing solutions, help less vocal participants to take part in discussions, know if the group is making progress).

(12) Skills in using appropriate educational materials and media.

(13) Skills in introducing appropriate technologies into the village.

(14) Knowledge about the limitations and inappropriateness of technology.

(15) Ability to envision how an idea might work.

(16) Knowledge of how to obtain and analyze information.

(17) Ability to obtain active support from individuals/groups within the village structure.

(18) Ability to suggest new ideas and new definitions of the problems and new approaches to the problems.

(19) Ability to assess correctly the need for different services in the community.

(20) Ability to determine priorities when dealing with large numbers of needs (after weighing pros and cons).

(21) Ability to assess the practicability of a project in terms of local situation, skills, resources and anticipated difficulties.

(22) Ability to explore alternatives.

(23) Ability to form goals and objectives for a project in order to meet specific needs of the villagers.

(24) Ability to develop a plan and implement activities to meet those goals and objectives.

(25) Ability to reconciliate participant goals and program goals.

(26) Ability to compare the proposed projects with the available resources and participant needs/goals.

(27) Knowledge of all the resources in the environment that can be harnessed to meet a specific need.

(28) Skills in predicting possible problems/constraints.

(29) Ability to investigate difficulties which caused previous failures.

(30) Ability to look for different solutions within the community.

(31) Ability to identify outside expertise and materials.

(32) Ability to link the specific activity to the commercial, cultural and political mechanism/infrastructure within the community.

(33) Knowledge about other back-up help.

(34) Ability to work in very close collaboration with different organizations/groups in managing a task.

(35) Knowledge about evaluative techniques to judge the progress of the activities.

IX. Skills in Living in a Group.

(1) Ability to conform to group norms.

(2) Knowledge of how to relate to others as equals.

(3) Ability to remain acceptable to all the group members.

(4) Ability to share experiences with others.

(5) Ability to have faith in all the group members.

(6) Ability to share power and responsibilites within the group.

(7) Ability to be sensitive to group processes.

(8) Ability to improve interpersonal relationships.

(9) Ability to encourage mutual learning processes.

(10) Ability to handle interpersonal aspects of tasks.

(11) Ability to build cohesiveness of the group by improving quality transactions among the members.

(12) Ability to encourage participation by all.

(13) Ability to discourage competitive behavior and encourage cooperative behavior.

(14) Ability to listen and observe silently.

(15) Ability to understand the overt and covert disparities in the group.

(16) Ability to help in conciliating differences.

(17) Ability to find compromising solutions.

(18) Ability to respect differences of opinion.

(19) Ability to win the confidence of group members who hold opposite views.

(20) Ability to help in arbitrating conflicting individual needs.

(21) Ability to get the involvement of the slower and less active participants in the group.

(22) Ability to create a sense of group belongingness.

(23) Ability to possess simple but necessary skills in group dynamics.

(24) Knowledge of simple management tactics needed to keep participatory groups functioning.

X. Skills in Living According to Sarvodaya Philosophy.

(1) Ability to derive joy from living by making others happy.

(2) Possession of a balanced personality unshaken by gain or loss, wealth or poverty, fame or blame, comfort or suffering.

(3) Possession of a sense of national awareness and cultural awakening.

(4) Possession of motivation based on spiritual values rooted in national culture.

(5) Ability to show dedication to meaningful and constructive activities in rural upliftment.

(6) Ability to act compassionately and to remove causes that bring suffering, fear and grief.

(7) Ability to act compassionately towards all beings--the oppressed, the oppressor, the opponent or the supporter.

(8) Possession of friendly thoughts towards all.

(9) Ability to defeat exploitation and tyranny through the sharing of wealth, labour, food and power.

(10) Ability to respect non-violence, virtue, selflessness, truthfulness and simplicity.

(11) Ability to treat success and defeat with equanimity.

(12) Respect for all life.

(13) Ability to have patience with one's own frustrations.

(14) Ability to strive for self-knowledge.

(15) Commitment and self-insight.

(16) Ability to find personal satisfaction in the achievements of others, even though this may mean lack of credit to himself.

(17) Ability to face defeat without losing commitment to the Movement.

(18) Ability to demonstrate clearly and consistenlty a real desire to help others.

(19) Ability to believe strongly in self-reliance.

(20) Skills in restoring social values and relationships within the village.

(21) Ability to persist, in spite of failure to find better solutions.

It is evident from the above dimensions that the learning needs of the village-level leaders, who act as change agents in the rural scene, do not form a single profile. They appear in different configurations in consonant with the varied competencies required by the complexisites of the rural development process. The diversity of dimensions is evidently an outcome of the participatory nature of the process used to determine the training needs which necessitated the involvement of a fair sample of communities concerned, including the village-level leaders themselves.

# C H A P T E R VIII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study is a pioneer attempt to explore a relatively unexplored area--delineating training needs to prepare the village-level leaders, the most needed change agents in the rural areas, for participatory rural development. As a backstop to the attempt, the writer investigated the theoretical implications of the broader issue, i.e., the rural development process, with special emphasis on the context of people's participation in the process, elaborating on such themes as rationale and different dimensions of participation. In this study an effort has been made to highlight the issues of participation, using a unique example of a participatory process in rural development which is very much alive and thriving, namely the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka.

Proceeding from this, an attempt has been made to review the roles and issues concerning village-level leaders as initiators of the participatory process in view of the evidence from the experiences of some Third World countries. This review has prepared the necessary ground for analyzing the experience of the Sarvodaya Movement in relation to the role and issues pertaining to its village-level leaders currently working in Sarvodaya villages.

This has been followed by an evaluation of the training programs that are being carried out to prepare individuals for this vital role. Evidence gathered has proved that the Sarvodaya Movement has incurred considerable efforts to improve the quality of the training programs, and as a result, the present training programs contain positive elements. However, the training is in certain ways not relevant to the role expected of these frontline workers and to the needs and realities of the situation existing in the Sri Lankan villages. In order to address this issue, the writer maintained that the specific training needs of the village-level leaders must be methodically ascertained and duly operationalized, devising valid instruments in order to form a clear framework for designing relevant training programs. Accordingly, the writer, employing the Tom Hutchinson's Needs Analysis Methodology, has assessed the specific training needs of the village-level leaders and prioritized the items in order to ascertain the most important needs. The ten most important training needs of the village-level leaders attached to the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, as revealed by the Needs Assessment, appear below:

1. Ability to obtain solutions from the villagers for their own problems.

2. Ability to organize dispersed government and other services.

3. Possession of techniques in understanding the social, political, economic, physical, cultural and spiritual environment of a village.

4. Skills in diagnosing the leadership in the village and developing appropriate relationships.

5. Possession of sympathetic, humane and non-hierarchical attitudes towards the villagers.

6. Ability to be an example of desirable behavior.

7. Ability to understand attitudes, values, habits/customs and disparities in a village.

8. Skills in organizing and managing.

9. Skills in living in a group.

10. Skills in living according to Sarvodaya philosophy.

Following the needs assessment and prioritization, the top ten training needs were operationalized using another methodology called the "Self Instructional Module for Learning the Hutchinson Method of Operationalizing a Goal or Intent." This was done to evolve more clear/defuzzed statements that could be used as a valuable framework in developing training programs for training village-level leaders for participatory rural development. For each prioritized need 15-40 responses were elicited. An analysis of these responses indicates that these training needs cannot be perceived in complete isolation from one another. There are inherent overlappings/repetitions, which is an inevitable outcome when generated through a rather down-to-earth process of operationalization such as the one used in the present study. Systematic development of a curriculum based on the dimensions/statements generated by the operationalization process needs further work and is beyond the scope of the present study. However, as a direction for such future work the writer, at this

point, has analyzed the responses and organized and condensed the items into a general framework, which the curriculum developers could use as a frame of reference in evolving educational objectives.

The primary question that the present study addresses is, What are the training needs of village-level leaders for participatory rural development in the context of the experiences of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka? To present the same question in another way is, In what areas do the village-level leaders need training to perform their roles efficiently in the villages? Analysis of the operationalized items of the ten prioritized needs, suggests the following framework of training needs, which curriculum developers could use to develop educational objectives for village-level leadership training programs.

## Major Concentrations of a Training Program for Village-Level Leaders for Participatory Rural Development

### Skills

1. Identification of needs, resources and the formulation of appropriate goals.
2. Project planning, implementation and evaluation.
3. Coordination of governmental and non-governmental services.
4. Techniques in understanding the local milieu.
5. Skills in working with the established leadership, different groups and organizations in the village.

6. Communicating skills.

7. Skills in working with the people in the village.

Attitudes

1. Orientation in the value system and the ethos of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement.

2. Personality development and self-awareness.

3. Commitment, dedication and truthfulness.

4. Motivation based on spiritual values.

5. Respect for all life.

6. Belief in self-reliance.

Knowledge

1. Sarvodaya philosophy.

2. Theoretical concepts of self-reliance, group dynamics and communications.

3. Organizational procedures of governmental and non-governmental services.

4. Socio-cultural foundation of the local scene.

An apparent feature in the framework revealed by the operationalization process is that the training components connected with the development of skills and attitudes stand out prominently giving quite a low emphasis to the knowledge component. This, in fact, is a very valuable indicator to the program planners not only attached to the leadership training programs of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka but also to many others in the Third World. This indicator demonstrates that the current emphasis on the theoretical aspects has

quite a little significance when perceived from the viewpoint of the actual clients.

A careful analysis of the various dimensions as depicted in the responses received, indicates that the building of skills in a village-level leader should receive the highest attention in a training program. Evidently, the suggested skills cover a vast spectrum of fields and their varied nature indicates that it is a difficult task to accomplish. This, in fact, is a bright signal to the curriculum developers, cautioning them that very careful deliberations are essential if the training programs are to be made relevant for preparing these frontline workers for the role expected of them.

Developing right attitudes, too, stand out prominently in the suggested framework, an aspect which has received low emphasis among the trainers in the Third World during the recent past in conducting training programs of this nature. One major reason for this is that very often the resources permit only training efforts of short duration but the inculcation of attitudes needs long span of training time and, hence, the program planners tend to overlook such needs. The other reason is the belief that a leader cannot be trained to have correct attitudes, that it is something very much inherent in a person and, to a considerable degree, an innate quality. However, as it was somewhat evident from the literature survey, attempts could be made to inculcate attitudes and, more often, revitalize and refine them through training, though this is a very difficult task needing much more efforts on the part of trainers. Therefore, one of the

most noteworthy contributions that the present study offers to the curriculum developers of training programs of this nature is the methods of training that leads to the development of needed attitudes in a leader who is getting prepared to secure the participation of rural masses in their own development should receive high attention in a program.

Even though this is a very complicated and difficult task to achieve, it should be given due emphasis if the investment in time, efforts and resources is to bear reasonable results. Inculcation of attitudes cannot be developed in isolation from other training efforts, therefore, they should be formulated in correct balance with the other components and, with due elaboration on strategies, methodologies and other techniques. Because of this reason, living-in-training, where exposure to very practical opportunities and experiences is possible, always presents a good climate for training programs of this nature. Only through such careful efforts could dedicated, committed, reliable leaders who will effect horizontal relationships be developed.

## Conclusion

Evidently, substantial knowledge can be gained through the study regarding the most important skills/competencies as well as attitudes necessary for village-level leaders to perform their role effectively. It sheds new light on the scientific ways of organizing training programs for village-level leaders for participatory rural development.

This study can be considered as one that is fulfilling an essential requirement for paving the path for rural populations to play an active role in the development process. It holds enough promise for those who are attempting to diagnose the rural development training needs viewed in a broad social and economic context, and in close relation to the realities in the field.

This study does not present a ready-made model for training programs for village-level leaders that coordinators/planners of such programs could readily use. What is important is that it provides a highly useful framework for designing elaborate training models which may, hopefully, be of much practical use to those who carry out such responsibilities. Further research is needed in order to evolve the details of the training programs based on the suggested framework. Training programs that are to be built based on this framework, as suggested by the varied dimensions, should be developed with the participation of those involved. Developing such authentic training programs is not so easy a task; it requires highly systematic curriculum development efforts. Such efforts are urgently required in order to guide and inspire program planners in this highly important task. This research could be helpful in serving as a stepping-stone for further efforts in this direction.

Strengthening the capabilities of these village-level leaders is one of the most important challenges, not only in the case of Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka but also by the rural development planners throughout the Third World. Practical suggestions for

preparing these village-level leaders in ways that will enhance their skills has become imperative in the context of varied efforts which are being carried out in these countries today. Although the needs assessment and the operationalization of the prioritized needs have been based on a specific case study (hence of utmost importance to that specific organization), the findings could be generalized to fit many other situations. On the other hand, this study may serve as a basis for initiating highly useful dialogues among the practitioners in the field of rural development throughout the world. Furthermore, this research could provide guidance in evaluative work and follow-up work connected with the training of village-level leaders. More importantly, the philosophical base, rationale, and the methodologies used could be helpful in guiding similar efforts in other Third World countries.

## ENDNOTES

[1]Research Assistant, Jaya Gajanayake, holds a Master of Education degree and a Doctor of Education degree from the University of Massachusetts. She, too, followed the Needs Assessment Methodology course (methodology adopted in the study) offered by Professor Tom Hutchinson while she was at the University of Massachusetts, along with the writer. Currently she is a lecturer in education at the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka. She has many years of research and training experience in the area of rural development.

[2]The Sarvodaya perceives development as an awakening process leading to total happiness. The concept of awakening encompasses six integrated components, namely, spiritual, moral, cultural, social, political and economic. This definition goes beyond those that confine themselves to measuring development by gross national products, growth rates, per capita incomes and even the Quality of Life Index. (See Ariyaratne, A.T., In Search of Development. Moratuwa, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Press, 1981, pp. 32-34).

[3]Bhoodan literally means "donation of land." The Bhoodan Movement in the 1950s in India was founded by Vinoba Bhave, a follower of Gandhi. The purpose of the Movement was to persuade rich landowners to donate land voluntarily to be distributed among the poor.

[4]The term Protestant Buddhism was first introduced by Gananath Obesekara, a sociologist from Sri Lanka, to describe the change brought about in Buddhism as a result of its confrontation with Christianity. In using this term he emphasized two points:

(a) that it protested against Christianity; and

(b) that in doing this it imitated many norms, practices and organizational forms of Protestant Christianity.

A third feature was the increasing involvement of laymen in religious leadership positions.

[5]Kamma, or Karma is the sum and the consequences of a person's actions during successive phases of his existence. It is also used sometimes to mean fate or destiny.

[6]During the last two decades, United National Party's proportion of popular votes has been more stable and slightly higher than the proportion won by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. This ensures the UNP to remain in power unless there is a radical change in voting patterns.

[7]Parties that operate on a national level and do not cater to ethnic or regional interests.

[8]These statistics were computed from information obtained from the Demographic Yearbook, 1983, thirty-fifth issue, published by the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York, 1985, pp. 718-731.

[9]Ceylon Citizenship Act no. 18 of 1948 made the Indian Tamils non-citizens and by the Parliamentary Elections Amendments Act no. 48 of 1949 they were disfranchised.

[10]The Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act no. 3 of 1949 sought to offer citizenship to Indian Tamils by registration.

[11]Two agreements between the prime ministers of India and Sri Lanka were signed in 1964 and 1974. According to the first, 525,000 persons of Indian origin were sent back to India and 300,000 persons were to be given Sri Lankan citizenship. According to the 1974 agreement, 75,000 persons were to be given Sri Lankan citizenship and the remaining 75,000 persons were to be sent back to India.

[12]Bryce Ryan, 1953, records 25 major castes, 12 subcastes, and 11 quasi-castes in Sinhala areas. The major castes are as follows: Goyigama, Karāva, Salāgama, Durāva, Navandanna, Hannāli, Hunu, Hēna or Rada, Vahumpura, Hinnā, Badahäla, Panikki, Velli-Durayi, Panna-durayi, Beravā, Batgam Berava, Kontadurayi, Batgam (Padu), Olī, Palī, Kinnara, Gahala-Beravā, Rodī, Kavikāra, Demala-Gattara.

[13]Among the Sri Lanka Tamils in Jaffna, Bryan Pfaffenberger, 1982, mentions two major categories of castes--the touchables and the untouchables. Touchable castes consist of Pirāman, Saiva Kurukkal, Vellālar, Pantāram, Cirpācari, Kōviya, Taṭṭar, Karaiyar, Taccar, Kollar, Nattuvar, Kaikular, Cāntar, Kucuvar, Mukkuvar, Vannar. Untouchables are: Ampaṭṭar, Paḷḷar, Naḷavar, Pariayar.

[14]The majority of the Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka belong to untouchable castes or Adi-Dravida castes. Jayaraman, 1981, documents the existence of two Adi-Dravida castes--Pallan and Paraiyan and ten other non-Brahaman castes in Sri Lanka, which consists of two categores--peasant castes and specialist castes.

[15]Sarvodaya village-level workers are often referred to as volunteers, and though their work in the villages is of a voluntary nature, they are paid a monthly allowance for their subsistence.

[16]Even though village-level leaders may be accepted by the villagers as a leader at the beginning, the acceptance may decline as time goes on. This may be due to the inability of the village-level leader to cope with the situation, or it may be due to a loss of interest among the villagers in Sarvodaya activities.

[17]Traditionally, Buddhist monks have been religious as well as cultural leaders in Sri Lankan villages. The Buddhist temples have been centers of cultural and religious activity in the villages for thousands of years. Except in times of political crisis or upheavals, the mainstream of the Buddhist clergy have been aloof from the mundane activities of laymen. The major focus of their activities has been to attend to religious needs of the laymen. The Sarvodaya movement believes that Buddhism can be applied to the day-to-day activities of life. From this belief it follows that Buddhist monks can and should play a leading role in community/rural development activities. The Buddhist monks need training if they are to be successful as community leaders. The Training Institute for Buddhist monks at Pathakada has been set up for the purpose of training Buddhist monks for village development activities. According to the leader of the Sarvodaya Movement, the intent of the Training Institute is to provide training for those Buddhist monks who are socially oriented and, therefore, ready to take up responsibilities in rural/community development.

[18]These objectives have been obtained from different Sarvodaya publications during the last 20 years.

[19]Generally, rural/community development planners assume that people in rural areas have similar interests, but in reality there are many conflicts and contradictions among them.

[20]Dr. Hutchinson presents a description and mini-application of this model in a graduate level course at the School of Education, University of Massachusetts, titled "Needs Analysis Methodology." Both the writer and the research assistant had the valuable opportunity of following this course, which enabled them to gain the necessary knowledge and competence to carry out this study.

[21]The Coffing-Hutchinson Needs Analysis Methodology, which originated in the United States of America, possesses the ability to be adopted to other socio-economic contexts as well, and has been successfully tried out in some of the developing countries by needs analysts coming from such environments. However, in Sri Lanka this is the first instance where the above methodology was administered. Since the social context of Sri Lanka is different from a corporate

industrial society like the United States, some modifications had to be made. Accordingly, procedures concerning contract negotiations stipulated in the methodology had to be eliminated to suit the socio-cultural context of Sri Lanka. In addition, the needs assessment was conducted in a very informal manner and quite often took the form of a dialogue and discussion rather than limiting it to a formal process that occurs in a contract situation.

[22]For instance, "in a hospital a patient can tell the doctor, 'I need relief from pain'. The doctor can ask a number of definers and various medical staff to help him in defining the patient's need. The total definition will likely be more help to the doctor than the patient's own limited perception." (Tom Hutchinson, Needs Analysis Methodology, 1974, p. 9).

[23]The definers who participated in this simulated exercise included three from Latin America (Venezuela, Chile and Mexico), three from Asia (Nepal, Indonesia and South Korea), three from Africa (kenya, Lesotho, and Ghana), three from the U.S.A. (who had experience in working in Malaysia, Indonesia and Honduras), and four faculty members of the University of Massachusetts (School of Education) who were experts in the field.

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX I

# THE COFFING-HUTCHINSON NEEDS ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

# THE COFFING-HUTCHINSON NEEDS ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

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The Ohio State University

Thomas E. Hutchinson

University of Massachusetts - Amherst

1. Identify the persons for whose decision-making the needs analysis will be performed.

2. Prioritize these persons.

3. Determine the amount of resources available for the design and conduct of the needs analysis.

4. Allocate the resources among the persons according to the priorities.

5. For the next most important decision-maker, have him identify the categories of persons whose needs are important to the decision-maker.

6. Test this list for completeness.

7. Have the decision-maker identify the broad categories of needs that are important to the decision-maker.

8. Test this list for completeness.

9. Have the decision-maker identify the categories of persons who should specify the needs to an operational level.

10. Test this list for completeness.

11. Using the three lists, generate all possible questions in the form: Whose (list 1) needs for what (list 2) according to whom (list 3).

12. Have the decision-maker remove from the list those questions in which he has no interest.

13. Have the decision-maker prioritize the remaining questions.

14. If there are more decision-makers for whom steps 6 to 13 have not been performed, go to step 5.

15. Allocate the remaining design resources among the sentences given, the priorities among decision-makers and the priorities within the decision-maker's list of sentences.

16. If some of the sentences fit the pattern: the client's needs for what according to the clients, see Coffing's Client Demand Analysis Methodology.

17. Take the next most important question in the form whose needs for what according to whom (A's needs for B according to C).

18. Determine the sample size of C to be used.

19. Ask each member of the sample the following question: What are A's needs for B?

20. Assemble the results and show additional samples from C.

21. Use these samples to bring all elements of the items identified to an operational level.

22. Assemble all of the operational elements of B into a survey instrument with directions as follows: Check off from the list below all items that you believe A needs.

23. Administer the survey instrument to a sample of C.

24. Accumulate the results of the survey by finding for each item the percent of the sample that chose the item as a need of A.

25. Report on the survey results to the decision-maker.

26. Take the item of the survey that obtained the (next) highest percentage and design an instrument to measure the extent to which A has this need unfulfilled.

27. Draw a sample of A and administer the instrument (this may be postponed until more instruments are developed).

28. Assemble the data and report to the decision-maker.

29. If resources allow and there are still items on the results of the survey of step 24, then go to step 26.

30. If resources allow and there are still sentences that remain on the list from step 15, then go to step 17.

31. If a decision-maker identifies for the same "whose" as defined by more than one "whom" then have the decision-maker consider whether he wants to combine the results. If not, go to step 33.

32. Determine what weighting system and scheme of combining results is most appropriate to the decision-maker. Perform the combining and give him the results.

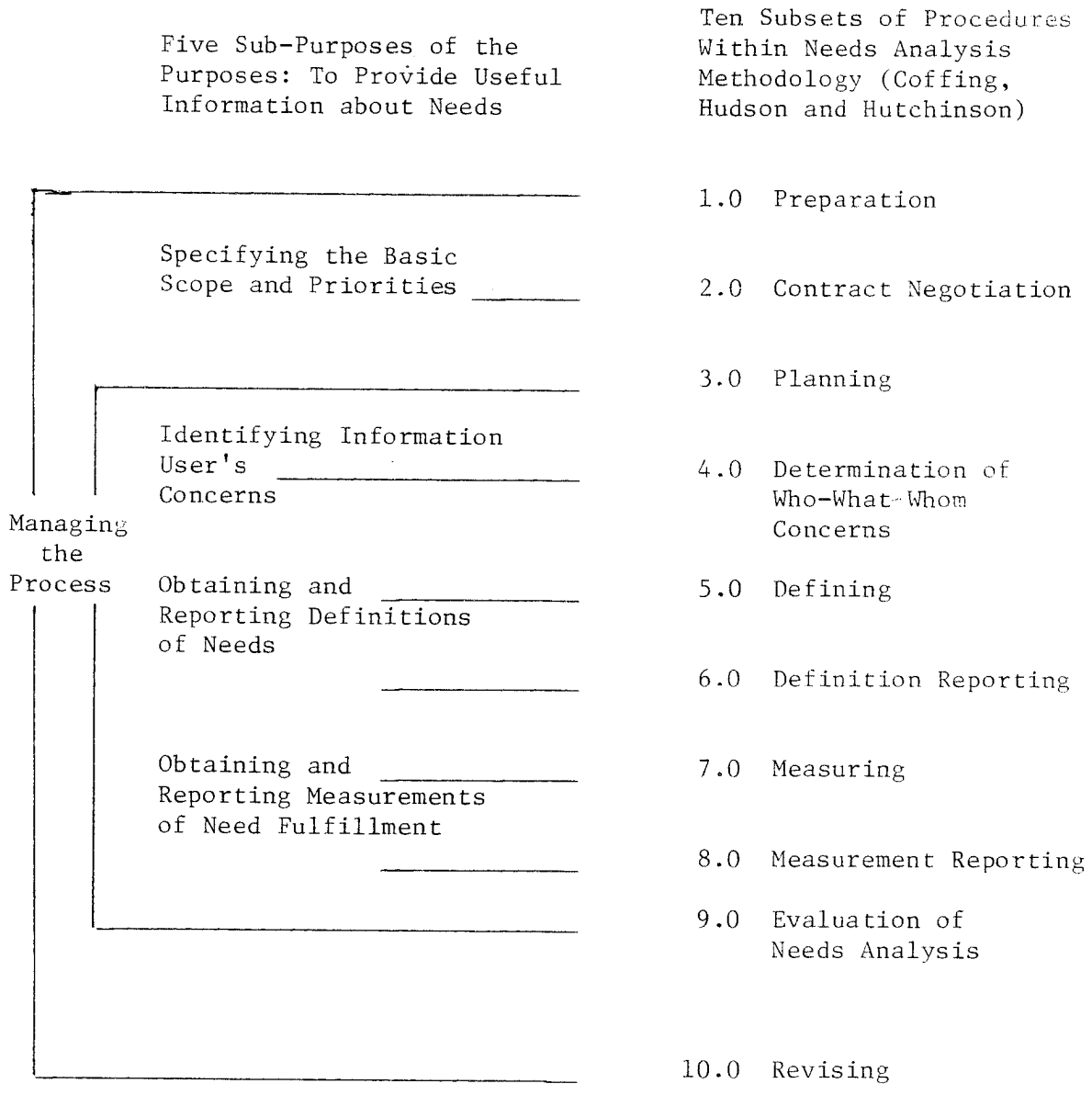
33. Evaluate whether or not the data produced is actually used for decision-making.

34. If there is to be more work done in needs analysis, return to step 1. If not, you're done.

The General Design of the Coffing-Hutchinson

Needs Analysis Methodology

Procedures



# APPENDIX II

## SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL MODULE FOR LEARNING THE HUTCHINSON METHOD OF OPERATIONALIZING A GOAL OR INTENT

# SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL MODULE FOR LEARNING THE HUTCHINSON METHOD OF OPERATIONALIZING A GOAL OR INTENT

by

Richard T. Coffing
Thomas E. Hutchinson
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Richard G. Allan

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INSTRUCTOR PLUS
WORKBOOK
(OPTION C)

*

POSITIVE SELF CONCEPT

Produced under the
Direction of

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School of Education
University of Massachusetts
June 1971

## HOW TO USE THE MODULE

The purpose of this self-instructional module is to help you learn how to break down a goal into its directly observable component parts. These parts of the goal can then be used as evaluative criteria for measuring accomplishment of the goal.

You, the reader, will not want to proceed further unless you believe your purposes coincide with the purpose of the module. As a guideline on whether to continue, you might ask yourself right now, "Do I, or does any decision-maker I work with, have a goal or an intention that I want to see accomplished by the program I am working on?" If your answer to that question is "no," then the module clearly is not for you.

If you are interested in the term "positive self concepts," if it is something that you want to help people to achieve, and if you agree that any two people are likely to have at least a somewhat different meaning for the term; then this workbook will probably be useful to you.

The procedure which you will experience during this self-instructional module is a new method for operationally defining goals. This is a specific application of a general method developed by Thomas E. Hutchinson, Associate Professor of Education, University of Massachusetts, which he calls "The Operationalization of Fuzzy Concepts," for reasons that will be obvious when you do the procedure.

Be sure to proceed through it page by page, without previewing, skimming or skipping. Experience has shown that exposure to the material without doing the procedure step by step can lose to the reader many of the benefits of this procedure.

The first step is to construct in your mind a hypothetical situation. This hypothetical situation should be as real and as complete as possible -- with people in it, furniture, a complete environment. It might be inside or outside; that doesn't matter. It should not be too specific -- a general hypothetical situation. Now, in this hypothetical situation one person really has a positive self-concept. This person is the best that you can imagine that a positive self concept could possibly be. What I want you to do is to examine the hypothetical situation, observe it very carefully, and write down all the things that you see about that person, about that person's interaction with other people, about the environment, about interaction between people and the environment, anything at all going on that would indicate to you that the person really has a positive self concept. And just write them down on a list. Do this now on the next page.

WRITE DOWN THE THINGS YOU SEE THAT INDICATE TO YOU THAT THE FUZZY CONCEPT IS PRESENT. Be sure to exhaust the hypothetical situation. Don't just put down the first two or three things that come to mind. Get everything out of it that you can.

WHEN YOU HAVE EXHAUSTED THIS PROCESS, PROCEED TO THE NEXT PAGE.

If you were trying to operationalize positive self concept completely, you would not move on to a second step until the first one had been completely exhausted, with everything out of it you could possibly get.

By the first step, you may have identified some of the dimensions you have for positive self concept at this first level of breakdown. As the early steps in the procedure are completed, you will have more and more of the dimensions; in later steps you may have

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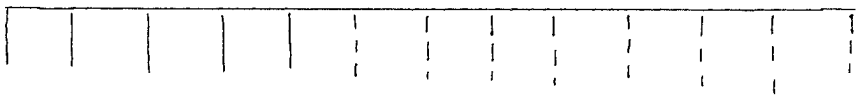


more difficulty in finding others. You should not necessarily expect each of the later steps to elicit the same quantity of dimensions that you get at the first stage.

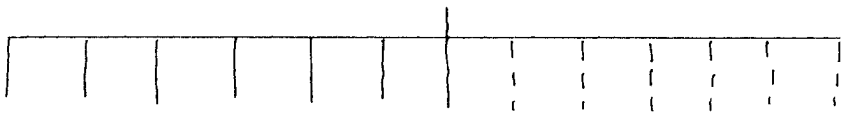
The second step of the procedure is to construct a second hypothetical situation. Again, it should be as complete as possible. There should be people; they should be doing things, interacting with

each other; there should be a complete environment. It may be inside or outside. It should have anything you want to put into this environment -- except, in this hypothetical situation, one person has no positive self concept at all. A complete absence of positive self concept. What I want you to do is to examine this situation, observe it carefully and write down all the things you can see in this situation that indicate to you that positive self concept is absent. Don't just write down the negative ends of positive dimensions that you thought up in the first situation. Use the second hypothetical situation to identify a wider range of dimensions of positive self concept than you got from the first step. Use the next page to write your list.

WRITE DOWN THE THINGS YOU SEE THAT INDICATE TO YOU THAT THE FUZZY CONCEPT IS ABSENT. Again, try to exhaust the situation; get everything out of it that is available in it.

WHEN YOU HAVE EXHAUSTED THIS PROCESS, PROCEED TO THE NEXT PAGE.

By doing the second step you may have identified some more of the dimensions that you have for positive self concept. With each



succeeding step, there will be fewer left, and they will be harder and harder to find.

Some parts of the procedure will work better for you than others will. Also, for different fuzzy concepts, different aspects of the procedure will work better than others. For example, there are some fuzzy concepts where the negative hypothetical situation gets all the dimensions and the positive gets few; and there are others where the positive situation gets most of the dimensions and the negative gets few. So for that reason I advise against skipping any of the steps. Only when you have had enough experience with it for a large number of instances, is it safe to say that this particular part doesn't work for you. If some part doesn't work, that doesn't mean that it won't work with the next fuzzy concept that comes along that you want to deal with. It may very well be the most important step for that one, so give it a good chance before you rule out any one of the steps for your own practice. But if you do get a consistent history of a certain step not doing anything for you, then obviously you should eliminate it.

Stop Here and Wait. I want the other people to catch up. Then I'm going to ask you to form groups of three to share lists. I think you'll find that interesting.

The third step in the procedure is to get two or three other people to go through steps one and two, the positive and negative hypothetical situations, whereby they operationalize in part what they mean by positive self concept -- their dimensions for it. Then you take their lists and look at each item -- one by one -- and you

ask yourself the following question, "Is this an item I want on my list; Is this a dimension that I have, really?" This is just another way of finding additional dimensions.

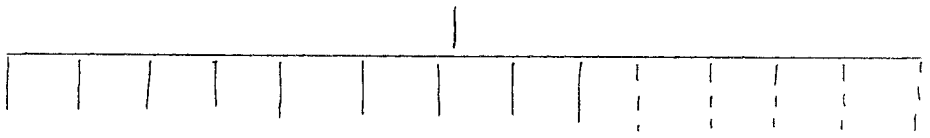
Of course there are a number of possibilities for each item on another person's list. You may already have it on your list. You may find one that you would really like to have it, so you add it to your list. The point is that you identify all the dimensions that you have for the fuzzy concept. You are not agreeing or disagreeing with the other people. You are using their lists as stimuli to yourself, so that you can consider each of their dimensions and say, "This is one of mine, but I didn't think of it before." Or you say, "This one is ridiculous -- it makes me think of three that I hadn't thought of before," and so you add them. And of course the last possibility is that it's not on your list and you don't want it and it doesn't make you think of a blessed thing. Now review this last paragraph and do the procedure. (If there are no other people from whom you can get lists at this moment, then stop here temporarily until you are able to get them.) Use the next page in the workbook to record the additions to your list. Do not discuss or justify your items. This procedure is designed to help you make your list as complete as possible, not to justify your list to anyone else.

ADDITIONS TO YOUR LIST BASED ON COMPARISON WITH OTHERS:

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED COMPARING LISTS, YOU CAN DISCUSS ANY ISSUES

THAT WERE RAISED BY SHARING. AFTER THAT I'LL ASK YOU TO COME BACK TO ONE BIG GROUP AGAIN.

By that last process, you may have found a few more. It can be quite rich.



One thing that might be mentioned is that it is desirable to pick people who do not think the way that you do -- why would you want to look only at your own dimensions? That would not help in terms of identification. So pick people who you think will give you some spread, because then you can better examine what your own spread is.

The purpose of the whole operationalization procedure is definitely not to eliminate fuzzy concepts. For one thing, if we had to communicate always at the dimension level, in order to say "hello" it would take a few volumes, and obviously we cannot manage to do that in everyday life. A fuzzy concept is a remarkable, convenient shorthand, although a lot of information gets lost in the process of creating and using one. It is advisable to be aware of this so that you lose less. It is not one of the purposes of the procedure to cause people always to use words precisely the same way, with the same set of dimensions. The process probably can be used, though, to help people get together.

The fourth step in the procedure is harder. In this step, what I want you to do is to go back to the original hypothetical situa-

tions you had before, conjure them up again, as it were, and I want you to look at them again because there were things going on in those hypothetical situations that you did not write down because at the moment you did not think that they were part of what you mean by positive self concept. I want you to re-examine all the things that you can find in those original hypothetical situations that you did not put down, and seriously examine the implications of those things not being part of what you mean by positive self concept.

There is an example, but it is out of the context of this particular fuzzy concept. Say, I am trying to operationalize someone's concept "success in a job," and he sees himself getting good money, but he does not write that down. It is not one of his listed dimensions of "success in a job." So I'll say to him, "Imagine that you had no money at all, ever;" and usually at that point he is prepared to say "Well, by not putting it down I didn't quite mean that. I need enough to exist and to live -- up to a certain point. After that, it is not important as a dimension of success in a job." So he puts it down and qualifies it: "Money up to $10,000/year" or whatever level is being thought about.

So in this step in the procedure you re-examine the hypothetical situations; you look at the things that are going on, and especially at the things you did not write down. You seriously examine the implications of those things not being part of what you mean by positive self concept. Do this now, and use the next page to add to your list.

RE-EXAMINATION OF ORIGINAL HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS:

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED THE RE-EXAMINATION, WAIT FOR THE OTHER FOLKS.

You might have found a few more dimensions by doing the fourth step, but of course there were fewer to find.

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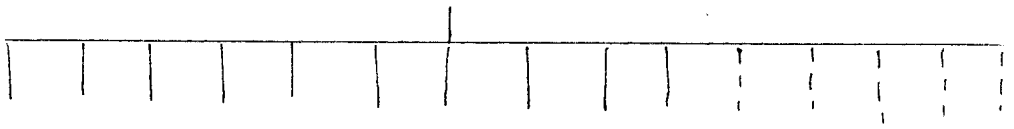

You have already identified a lot of dimensions that you have at this first level of breakdown.

Because the fifth and last step is the hardest, what I want you to do is, after I say the directions, just do it. Don't cognate over what it means to do it, just let it happen.

Here are the directions: I want you to think up dimensions that have nothing to do with positive self concept and then seriously examine whether or not they do.

RESULTS OF THE STEP:

WHEN YOU HAVE EXHAUSTED THIS PROCESS, WAIT FOR THE OTHER FOLKS.

Here is one way the step can work. Let us say, for example, I am a marriage counselor and a fellow comes who is having domestic problems at home. I have him operationalize what he means by "good father," and he goes through a positive hypothetical situation and a

negative hypothetical situation and then sees some other people's lists. (Because I've been doing this for 20 years, I have a lot of them handy.) Then he goes back to the hypothetical situations and looks again at what is going on and examines whether or not the things that are going on really have anything to do with "good father." So for about an hour or more he has been immersed in this fuzzy concept. Then I ask "All right, what has nothing to do with it?" and he replies, "How much time I spend at home." People don't think up things that have nothing to do with their concept when you ask them to. Of course, if you cognated over it long enough, you would think of the pyramids of Egypt or the dark side of the moon. But if you just let it happen, what would you get? You would get things that really are related, as a result of the mind-freeing twist of the question, "What has nothing to do with it?" It may be something, in the case of counseling, that is a represented dimension. It may be, in other cases, things that might be considered frivolous. The frivolous things come up, and you can examine them seriously. You see, one of the things that we mean in Western thought by "ridiculous" is "don't think about it," and my suggestion is that's dangerous. We have to think about such things. The greater our tendency is to label something ridiculous, probably the more important it is to consider it very seriously, because it is within that area that we are not utilizing our thought, not giving it careful consideration.

By this last step, you may have identified some more dimensions and all I will ever claim is that at the very best, doing the whole

procedure carefully and exhausting each step, you will get a very

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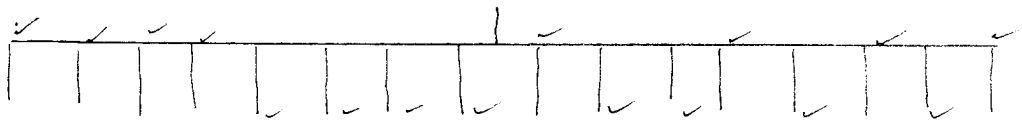

good approximation to the number of dimensions that you have, what you mean when you use the term positive self concept.

Now the next thing to do is to go back to the first item on the first line and look at it -- the very first item on the first list. And ask yourself the following question, "Is this either a directly observable behavior or a directly observable state?" Another way to approach it is to ask, "If I said this dimension to someone else and told him 'Go over in that room and tell me if this thing is happening,' would he come back with the same information that I would get if I went

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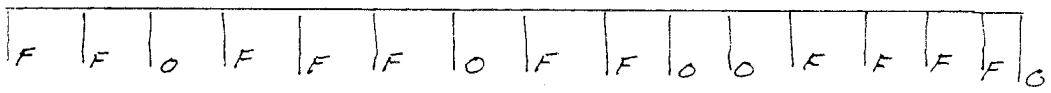
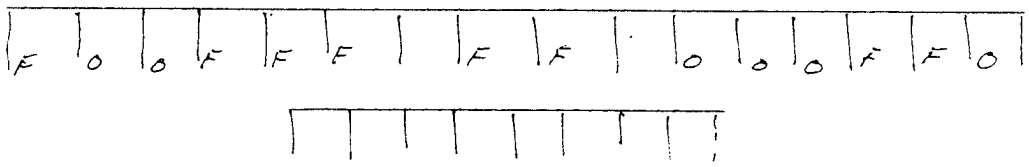


myself?" If the answers to these questions are "No," then that item is a fuzzy concept. What you would then do is take that fuzzy concept and go through the same sequence of five steps to break it down.



Usually at the very first level of breakdown for a very fuzzy concept,

there will be very few dimensions that are directly observable behaviors or states. However, as you go down the structure, you will gradually get a higher and higher percentage of directly observable behaviors or states until, if you operationalize all of it, you will have a very long, very comprehensive, very complete approximation to the total number of specific behavioral events and states that you mean when you use this term.

Now someone is going to say, "That takes an awful lot of time," or "It's awfully complex." Well, it is YOUR fuzzy concept. If the process is complex, that is because your concept is complex. If your concept is simple, so will this be.

Another possibility is that one may find the original fuzzy concept cropping up again a couple of layers down; nothing ever gets down to observability. Well, that may be because the person has no reality base for the concept that he is using. For instance, if I gave you a fuzzy concept that you had never used, don't use, and that isn't meaningful to you, you would probably be able to go through the process for a while but you would never come down to earth because it is a shurr of verbiage, a shurr of fuzz. It never would touch down to reality because you would have no reality referents that are meaningful to you in terms of that fuzzy concept.

Now, go back to the first item on the first list and ask yourself, "Is this a directly observable behavior or state? If I sent someone to find out if this thing were happening, would he come back with the same information that I would get if I went myself?" If the

answer is "No" to either question, then you have a fuzzy concept which needs to be broken down further. And so on for the other items on your list. For each item that is still fuzzy, repeat the five-step procedure to get to the second level of breakdown.

It may be important to put the first level dimensions in priority order because you may just not have the time to fully operationalize every aspect of positive self concept. If the job has to be positive then at least your most important aspects of positive self concept will be dealt with.

BEGIN THE PROCEDURE FOR THE SECOND LEVEL OF BREAKDOWN:
We won't have time for this now so just read the rest of the page and then -- if you have any questions or comments -- I'll be glad to deal with them now. Oh yes, thank you for going through the process; I hope you've enjoyed it.

As you have seen, it is easy to modify the workbook to do other fuzzy concepts. If you want a fresh one, just write to me at School of Education, UMass.

If after completing the procedure at the second level of breakdown, you find you still have some dimensions that are not directly observable behaviors or states, then repeat the procedure again with

them. At this third level, you may not need to check with other persons (Step 3).

You have completed this instructional module. Please follow this advice:

> If you wish to have someone else use this procedure please do not just describe it to them; have them actually go through the process. A negative reaction can occur when a person only hears the steps described without actually experiencing them.

# APPENDIX III

## INTERVIEW GUIDES

## FOR

## PLANNERS/TRAINERS/COORDINATORS OF THE VILLAGE-LEVEL

## LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS

## AND

## SARVODAYA VILLAGE-LEVEL LEADERS/PROJECT COORDINATORS

PART I

Interview Guide for Planners/Trainers/

Coordinators of the Village-Level

Leadership Training Program

1. How and when did you get involved in the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement?

2. In your opinion, what are the specific objectives of this training program?

3. What is the importance of this training program in the larger socio-economic context?

4. Was there any provision/attempt for determining the training needs of the participants at any stage? If yes, please describe.

5. Please describe how the training was planned.

6. How are the trainees selected?

7. What do you think about the selection process?

8. Is there any way in which a better type of trainee could be selected? Please explain.

9. How are the trainers selected?

10. What do you think about the selection process?

11. Describe the type of training given in this program.

12. What do you think about the content of training? Is the content practical and useful? How did you decide the content?

13. What do you think about the methods of training (is it participant-centered, etc.)? Describe the methodology.

14. What do you think about the materials used in the training? Are there any problems connected with it?

15. Is there any procedure for evaluation during the training?

16. Are there any procedures for supervision, support, follow-up and other technical assistance once the trainees complete the training program and leave to their respective villages?

17. What sort of activities are the village-level leaders supposed to do after leaving the training program?

18. On returning to the village after training, do you think this training has given them useful skills in performing their roles as village-level leaders? Please explain your answer. If not, what improvements are needed?

19. Do you think that the organization of this training program needs any improvements? If yes, what do you suggest?

20. What in your opinion are the successful techniques and processes you have observed in this training program that would be highly valuable for the village-level leaders in motivating the villagers and stimulating their participation?

21. What is the relationship this training program has with the community? Are there any affiliations with other organizations and services in the villages? If yes, please describe.

22. In your opinion is the training that the village-level leaders receive, that which is most needed?

23. What services and facilities do you feel this program is in need of most?

24. What do you suggest in order for the training program to be improved and to be more effective?

25. State the nature of the problems you face in training village-level leaders.

26. In your view, what are the strengths of this training program?

27. In your view, what are the shortcomings in this training program?

28. What steps should be taken to overcome them?

29. What suggestions can you make to organize this training program on a larger scale, within tolerable cost limits, but without destroying its quality and effectiveness?

30. Do you think this training will have a significant impact on the leaders in performing their roles effectively?

31. What are the other important issues involved in this training program?

32. Are there any additional comments or suggestions you would like to make?

33. What are the plans and prospects for the future of these training programs?

PART II

Interview Guide for Sarvodaya Village-Level

Leaders/Project Coordinators

1. What is your position/role in the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement?

2. How and when did you get involved in the Movement?

3. In your opinion, what functions and responsibilities do the Sarvodaya village-level leaders have in general?

4. In your opinion, what special qualities or skills make an effective village-level leader?

5. In your opinion, what are the common reasons for the success of village-level leaders?

6. What are the common reasons for their failures?

7. What constraints do you think the village-level leaders face in the villages in performing their role?

8. What steps do you think should be taken to overcome them?

9. What actions should be taken to motivate the village-level leaders further to perform their roles effectively?

10. How can the Sarvodaya village-level leaders assume the powers that are presently handled by traditional leaders?

11. What steps can be taken when the Sarvodaya leaders are no match to other leaders in the village, whether traditional or otherwise, especially when there is a conflict?

12. What functions and responsibilities should the village-level leaders be given?

13. What functions and responsibilities should the village-level leaders not be given?

14. Should they be single-purpose workers or multi-purpose workers?

15. If the latter, how can they handle multiple responsibilities without being overloaded?

16. Why do some of the Sarvodaya village-level leaders leave the program? Is it a problem? If so, what can be done about it?

17. How can the Sarvodaya village-level leaders be made to identify with the rural communities they are expected to serve?

18. To what extent can the qualities of leadership, dedication and ingenuity be developed through the training program?

19. How can the village-level leaders be made competent enough to make the villagers feel strong about their capabilities?

20. Usually the rural development planners assume that the rural people have similar interests, but in reality there are many conflicts (caste, class and politics). How can the trainees be prepared to handle such situations?

21. Without just paying lip service to the Sarvodaya philosophy and improvement of the masses, what should be done by the village-level leaders to empower the villagers?
How can the leaders be prepared to handle the process of giving power to the people?

22. In your opinion, what are the other important issues in the Sarvodaya village-level leadership that needs attention?

# APPENDIX IV

# TABULATED RESULTS OF THE

# NEEDS ASSESSMENT

Tabulated Results in Order of Priority/Rank

| Item | Score | Priority Rank | Item | Score | Priority/ Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | 66 | 1 | 38 | 20 | 21 |
| 25 | 57 | 2 | 48 | 20 | 21 |
| 6 | 45 | 3 | 50 | 20 | 21 |
| 29 | 45 | 3 | 63 | 20 | 21 |
| 67 | 36 | 5 | 18 | 19 | 27 |
| 85 | 35 | 6 | 24 | 19 | 27 |
| 7 | 31 | 7 | 32 | 19 | 27 |
| 16 | 28 | 8 | 43 | 19 | 27 |
| 15 | 27 | 9 | 57 | 19 | 27 |
| 59 | 25 | 10 | 8 | 18 | 32 |
| 5 | 24 | 11 | 13 | 18 | 32 |
| 9 | 24 | 11 | 23 | 18 | 32 |
| 69 | 24 | 11 | 28 | 18 | 32 |
| 84 | 24 | 11 | 37 | 18 | 32 |
| 22 | 23 | 15 | 2 | 17 | 37 |
| 1 | 21 | 16 | 55 | 17 | 37 |
| 4 | 21 | 16 | 61 | 17 | 37 |
| 42 | 21 | 16 | 26 | 16 | 40 |
| 65 | 21 | 16 | 68 | 15 | 41 |
| 53 | 21 | 16 | 76 | 15 | 41 |
| 10 | 20 | 21 | 30 | 13 | 43 |
| 20 | 20 | 21 | 52 | 13 | 43 |

| Item | Score | Priority/ Rank | Item | Score | Priority/ Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | 12 | 45 | 73 | 07 | 64 |
| 62 | 12 | 45 | 75 | 07 | 64 |
| 39 | 11 | 47 | 80 | 07 | 64 |
| 45 | 11 | 47 | 49 | 06 | 70 |
| 54 | 11 | 47 | 3 | 06 | 70 |
| 64 | 11 | 47 | 12 | 06 | 70 |
| 33 | 10 | 51 | 72 | 06 | 70 |
| 40 | 10 | 51 | 74 | 06 | 70 |
| 47 | 10 | 51 | 79 | 06 | 70 |
| 56 | 10 | 51 | 81 | 06 | 70 |
| 66 | 10 | 51 | 83 | 06 | 70 |
| 17 | 09 | 56 | 21 | 05 | 78 |
| 27 | 09 | 56 | 36 | 05 | 78 |
| 41 | 09 | 56 | 70 | 05 | 78 |
| 44 | 09 | 56 | 77 | 05 | 78 |
| 51 | 09 | 56 | 82 | 05 | 78 |
| 60 | 09 | 56 | 35 | 04 | 83 |
| 19 | 08 | 62 | 71 | 04 | 83 |
| 58 | 08 | 62 | 78 | 04 | 83 |
| 11 | 07 | 64 | | | |
| 14 | 07 | 64 | | | |
| 34 | 07 | 64 | | | |